HINDUSTAN REVIEW

1908

G. K. U.

6078069.

078069

STOCK VERIFICATION
Central
Library
23.6.8

078069

THE
Hindustan Review

EDITED BY
SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, *Bar-at-Law*

Volume XVII. Whole No. 103. | Allahabad, March, 1908. | Old-Series Nos. I—X. New Series No. 93.

THE DIN-I-ILAHI OF AKBAR: ITS LESSONS TO MODERN INDIA.

BY DR. NISHIKANTA CHATTOPADHYAYA PH. D.

THE tendency of the age is towards unity and universality. This is perceptible in art and science, in literature and philosophy and even in religion and politics. There are treatises on universal art and science, encyclopædias of universal literature, history and philosophy, schemes of universal suffrage, and of universal tariffs, proposals of universal arbitration and of the universal federation of all races and nations of the world. It were strange if language and religion were to form the only exceptions. But they do not. On the contrary, there is the well-known scheme of a universal language, called "Esperanto," invented by Dr. Zamenhof and so widely advertised of late all over India by my esteemed friend Dr. John Pollen of Russian fame. In the same manner, there are programmes of universal religion in the air, ushering in the wished for millennium and the universal brotherhood of mankind. This tendency to universality has been chiefly brought about by that wonderful development of human knowledge in all branches of thought and action which has been one of the most prominent traits of the civilised man for the last 150 years. Railways and steamboats, telegraphs and telephones, free trade and free press have also greatly contributed to the same grand consummation. So that we have now reached a period when all those that are anxious to march with the spirit of the times—with the *Zeitgeist* as the Germans put it, must be prepared to give up all that is local and ethnic in favour of the universal and the cosmopolitan. Particular laws must give way to universal principles. Unity must take the place of diversity. Broad-minded catholicity must become the substitute of sectarian bigotry. A religion of harmony, based on knowledge and charity must supersede dogmas which had their origin in foolishness and fanaticism. This religion of harmony, in its universal character must combine in itself all that is good and true in all the great religions of the world. Its adherents must diligently study all the Scriptures, sincerely respect all the Prophets, and thus finally give up that unique claim to Divine truth and salvation, which has been the fertile source of so much hatred and bitterness, and of almost half the devastating wars in the history of mankind. This attempt to found a universal religion has, no doubt, been tried, more or less, all over the world, but nowhere so often and with such dogged persistence as here in India: the home of all the great religions of the world, and where religious questions excite greater interest and enthusiasm than they do elsewhere on the face of the globe. As we are all aware, there are at least six great religions just now in the world: to wit, Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Hinduism on the one hand, and Buddhism, Christianity and Islam on the other. Of these, the first three religions have, on account of their vast age and hoary traditions, become, more or less, local, ethnic and exclusive, while the other three are still universal, democratic, apostolic or missionary in their character and principles. Each of these three religions still claims to have a unique monopoly of truth and salvation and, therefore, tries its utmost to convert the rest of the human race to its peculiar creeds and dogmas. But the science of the age and the spirit of the times disallows such an exclusive claim and the need is being felt all over the civilised world to revise our old notions of things in these respects, and to find out a religion of harmony such as I have already indicated. What do all our parliaments of religions, whether held in Chicago or Tokio, indicate but this? This demand for a higher and more harmonious synthesis of religious beliefs has been felt by some exceptionally gifted men in ancient as well as in mordern times, but by none with such clearness of vision and earnestness of purpose than by the Emperor Akbar, who breathed his last on the 14th of October, 1605, that is to say, just little over three centuries ago. It is my purpose to give a short sketch of the religion of harmony, called the *Din-i-Ilahi* which he attempted to found for the good of India. For materials, I am chiefly indebted to the *Ain-iAkbari* of Abul Fazl, to the *Muntakhwab-ut-twarikh* of Abdul Kadir Badaoni, to the *Dabistan-i-Mazhaib* of Mohsin Fani, to Briggs' *Ferishta*, and to such English and German writers as Elphinstone, Elliot, Wilson, Blochmann, Graf Noer* and others, who, by the way, have chiefly derived their information from the original sources mentioned above.

I shall introduce my subject with a quotation from Lord Tennyson's short but weighty little poem, called *Akbar's Dream*. Akbar is seated in deep melancholy on a piece of flat stone near the Palace at Fatehpur Sikri, when Abul Fazl arrives, and asks him the cause of his sadness. Thereupon Akbar thus relates his dream :—

> Well, I dream'd
> That stone by stone I rear'd a sacred fane,
> A temple, neither Pagod, Mosque nor Church,
> But loftier, simpler always open-door'd
> To every breath from heaven, and Truth and Peace
> And Love and Justice came and dwelt therein.

Is not that a beautiful and symbolical expression of the *Din-i-Ilahi* which Akbar intended to establish and which I shall now try to explain to the best of my ability ?

It was once related by one of the most highly esteemed English officials that have ever been out in India, that when in 1873 he accompanied the then Viceroy, Lord Northbrok, on a visit to Akbar's tomb at Secundra, Lord Northbrook had said : "If his (Akbar's) policy had been followed, there would have been no need for us to be here ! " Lord Northbrook's meaning is quite plain. He evidently meant, that if the policy of absolute religious toleration between the conflicting creeds and that of even-handed justice between the divergent races of India that had been initiated and so successfully carried out by the Emperor Akbar had been continued by his successors, the English who were just then shyly treading on the Indian soil as commercial travellers would never have become her undisputed masters as they have since become. The Moghul Empire would not only not have ceased to exist as it unluckily did a century

---

* Graf Noer's : *Der Kaiser Akbar*, in two volumes (London, 1880.)

and-a-half after Akbar's death, but would on the contrary have grown mightier and wealthier, more consolidated and more magnificent than ever. It might have in the course of time become as great and prosperous as the Roman Empire under the Antonines, or the British Empire under Victoria the Good and Edward VII. Its beneficent shadow would by this time have certainly covered the whole continent of India and probably a good deal more as that of Britain has done, and by smoothing religious differences and removing racial prejudices would have gradually welded and united all the hostile and heterogenous masses of this vast and ancient land into a solid and harmonious nationality,—"the one thing needful," the *sine qua non* as Professor Seeley has so clearly pointed out in his *Expansion of England*, for the achievement of an independent political life and of true national greatness in India. With the unerring foresight of a great statesman and the prophetic vision of a king-seer (*Râjarshi*), Akbar began to discern clearly enough, as province after province came under his political sway, that what this poor, distracted country badly needed was a liberal and cosmopolitan religion that combines in itself all that is good and true in all the sects and schisms prevalent in the land, that would reverently sit at the feet of all the true Prophets of God and gather holiness and wisdom from their inspired utterances couched, no mater, in what dialect, idiom or language of the world. He had always been of an inquiring disposition and had been curious to know all about the different religious beliefs and the sectarian dogmas, professed by the countless millions that lived under his benign and beneficent rule. And when after his final conquest of Bengal and Behar in 1575, he had far more leisure at his disposal for civil affairs, he began to devote himself, more and more, to those religious investigations to which he had always been constitutionally inclined. It is said, that about this time Akbar used to spend whole nights in prayer and meditation, continually repeating for hours the name: *Yâ Hû* and *Yâ Hâdî* after the manner of the Sufis from whom he had evidently taken hints and instructions on the subject. Early in the morning, he was often seen seated alone on a large flat stone which lay near the palace in a lonely spot with his head bent on his chest deep in religious contemplation. He was evidently longing for truth and light and sorely needed guidance and inspiration. Where else could he get it if not from God Himself? He had a number of splendid mosques built at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, *u. a.* that superb edifice at Sikri, called the *Ibâdat-khâna,* where those religious and philosophical discussions used to be held every Thursday evening of which Abdul Kadir Badaoni has left us such graphic details in his *Muntakhwab-ut-twarikh.* At these Thursday meetings, it was the Emperor's pleasure to divide all the assembled Mullahs and Kazis, Pandits and Padrees into four distinct sections and set them discussing all kinds of knotty religious problems. As usually happens in such cases, these discussions would soon descend into rabid wrangling, and to personal abuse, and when these reached beyond a certain point, the Emperor always interfered as an umpire and a judge and set matters right again. Some specimens of these discussions are given in the *Dabistan-i-Mazhaib,* a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia written probably about 60 years after Akbar's death and attributed to Mohsin Fani. The fullest is a dialogue between a Brahman, a Mussulman, a Zoroastrian, a Jew, a Christian and a philosopher. The representative of each religion brings forth his arguments which are successively condemned, some on account of the vicious character of their founders, and all for the absurdity of their alleged miracles. The philosopher who, like Socrates in the Platonic dialogues, evidently represents Akbar himself winds up the discourse by recommending a system which shall have no ground but reason and virtue.* An account of a real debate of this kind is also given in the *Akbarnamah.* It was carried on before an assembly of the learned of all religions, before Padree Radolph (Rudolfo Aquaviva), a Christian priest, and a body of Mahomedan Mullahs: a decided advantage, both in temper and argument, is given to the Christian. It was concluded by Akbar's reproving the Mullahs for their violence, and expressing his own decided conviction that God could only be worshipped by following reason, and not by yielding implicit faith to any alleged revelation. In all these religious and philosophical discussions, the moving spirit was a young man of great parts and many-sided capabilities who had been introduced to Akbar at the end of 1574. He was just turned twenty-five and had already acquired a great reputation for deep erudition

---

* *Dabistan-i-Mazhaib,* translated by Shea and Troyer, Vol. III, pp. 75-86.

and uncommon literary ability. He himself had already passed through several phases of doubt and faith, and was, therefore, most competent to assist Akbar in the further evolution of his religious views and tendencies. He says himself of his early struggles after truth and light in the following terms:

> Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after Truth and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from the outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia, or to the hermits of Lebanon. I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Thibet and with the Padrees of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests and the learned of the Zendavesta.

The name of this illustrious and highly-gifted son of India is no other than Abul Fazl *Allami*, later on the *Vazir-i-Azam*, or the Prime Minister of the Emperor Akbar, the famous author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, and above all, the intimate guide, philosopher and friend in all those religious, social and political reforms which culminated in the founding of the *Din-i-Ilahi* of Akbar which is the subject of this paper. In fact, Badaoni and other Mahomedan writers of the period do not hesitate to attribute Akbar's final apostacy from orthodox Islam chiefly to Abul Fazl and to call him an infidel and an atheist, a Hindu and a heresiarch. The orthodox party went even so far as to transform his very name from Abul Fazl to Abu Jahal—(Father of Ignorance!) which besides was the name of a very notorious antagonist of the Prophet himself. Abul Fazl's father was Sheikh Mubârak of Nagore, one of the profoundest Persian and Arabic scholars of the day, who having studied the writings of Grecian philosophers with great zeal, had lost faith in orthodox Islam, and had changed from Sunni to Shia and from Shia to Mahdavi tenets, for which he had suffered great persecutions which might have ended in his martyrdom, had he not been timely called back to Agra by the friendly intercession of Azeez Mirza Koka, Akbar's foster-brother and granted Imperial protection as well as patronage. His eldest son Faizi had been brought into Court in 1568 and had by and by so ingratiated himself into the good graces of his Imperial master, by his many-sided learning, his high character and his great poetical genius, that Akbar before long appointed him as his Poet-Laureate and as Tutor—*Atalique*—to his third son Prince Murad. Faizi was also a great Sanskrit scholar, and wrote his beautiful Persian poem: *Nal O Daman* (an adaptation from a well-known episode of the Mahabharata) which is still highly prized by Persian scholars. He, besides, superintended the translation of several well-known Sanskrit works such as the *Vijaganita* and the *Lilavati* of Bhashkarachârya, the two heroic poems, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* and a portion of the *Rajatarangini* or the "History of Kashmere." Akbar was greatly attached to both these brothers, and when in 1595 Faizi lay on his death-bed, Akbar hastened to Faizi's apartments and finding him nearly insensible called out to him in terms of familiar endearment: "Sheikji, I have brought the physician Ali to you: why don't you speak?" Receiving no reply, Akbar threw his royal turban on the ground and burst into the strongest expressions of genuine sorrow and of passionate grief. Such little incidents show the tender and affectionate heart which the great Emperor joined to his manly and mighty head—a rare combination, you will admit, that is seldom found and that reminds one of Julius Cæsar and of Cæsar alone.

078069

Faizi died at the age of fifty, two years after his illustrious father who had died at the advanced age of 90 in 1593, and seven years before his younger though greater brother Abul Fazl, who as it is well-known was assassinated on the 12th of August, 1602, by the secret orders of the Prince Royal, Selim, afterwards, the Emperor Jahangir. The date of his death is found in the chronogram, " بندۂ ابوالفضل " (Bandai Abul Fazl) *i.e.*, 1011 Hijri. Abul Fazl finished his immortal *Ain-i-Akbari* which forms the third volume of his stupendous work, *Akbarnameh*, six years before his assassination, *i.e.*, 1596—97. No account of Akbar's reign and especially of his particular religious views would be complete without some referenee to this illustrious Triumvirate who formed three of the brightest diamonds of the *Navaratan* or the *Nine Jewels*, with which Akbar had ornamented his throne. Like draws the like: *Jaise ruh waise ferishta* جیسي روح ویسے فرشتہ. A great and good Sovereign gathers great and good men around him, while a low princeling draws pimps, parasites and buffoons from all quarters who cater to his low tastes and burn incense to his pampered and morbid appetites.

As I have already said Abul Fazl was first presented to Akbar by his elder brother Faizi in 1574. Five years more, that is to say, 1579 and we already find Akbar openly proclaiming his new and liberal views on religion and even claiming to be the *Mujtahid* of the whole nation in spiritual matters. He, like Henry VIII of England, the Czar of Russia and the Kaiser of Germany, desired to unite in his own person the headship of the Church as well as of the State. He would tolerate no "Imperium in Imperio" as it once existed in medieval Europe. Nay, he went even a step further. He got a document signed by some of the most prominent Mullahs, Maulavis and Kazis of the period to the effect, that the rank of an *Imam-i-Adil* or of a *Sultan-i-Adil, i. e.*, of a perfectly just ruler was higher than that of a *Mujtahid*. And as Akbar was incontestably a *Sultan-i-Adil, par excellence*, so all his decisions even on spiritual matters were far more authoritative than those of mere ecclesiastical dignitaries like *Mujtahids*, however learned and distinguished they might otherwise happen to be.

Let me transcribe this unique and important document as given by Abdul Kadir Badaoni in his *Muntakhwab-ut-twarikh* :—

> Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and the land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people, especially learned men and lawyers have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. Now, we, the principal Ulemas, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our purity and honest intentions, have duly considered the deep meaning *first*, of the verse of the Quran (Sura IV. 62), "Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you" and *secondly* of the genuine tradition : "Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the Day of Judgment is the *Imam-i-Adil* : whosoever obeys the Amir obeys Me ; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against Me," and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reason or testimony ; and we have agreed, that the rank of a *Sultan-i-Adil* (a Just Ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of a *Mujtahid*. Futher, we declare that the King of Islam, the Amir of the Faithful, the Shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fateh Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar, Padishah-i-Gazi*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore in future, a religious question come up regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, for the benefit of the nation and as a political expedient, any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.

This document bears the seals and signatures of Makdum-ul-Mulk, Sheik Abdunnabi, Quazi Jalal-ud-din of Multan, of Sadr Jahan, the Mufti of the Empire, and, of course, of Sheik Mubârak, in whose own handwriting it was, as well as of Gazi-khan of Badakshan. It bears the date of September, 1579.

This may be regarded as the real beginning of the *Din-i-Ilahi*, though its actual profession was for the present, chiefly limited to the most intimate friends and counsellors of the Emperor. Abul Fazl delivers himself in the following manner about the new Religion of Harmony that has in the meantime sprung up into existence :—

> But when the time of reflexion comes and men shake off the prejudices of their education, the threads of the web of religious blindness break, and the eye sees the glory of harmoniousness.

Again :

> But the ray of such wisdom does not light up every house, nor could every heart bear such knowledge. And although some are enlightened, yet many would observe silence, from fear of fanatics who lust for blood and look like men. And should any one muster sufficient courage and openly proclaim his enlightened thoughts, pious simpletons would call him a mad man and throw him aside as of no account, while ill-starred wretches would at once think of heresy and atheism, and go about with the intention of killing him.—*Ain-i-Akbari*, *Ain* 77.

How very true and how modern ! John Stuart Mill, Fredric Strauss, or Ernest Renan might have penned them !

This document, says Abul Fazl, brought about excellent results :—(1) the Court became a gathering place of the sages and the learned of all creeds ; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognised and their defects were not allowed to obscure their good practices ; (2) perfect toleration, *cuhl-i-kuhl*, was established ; and (3) the perverse and the evil-minded were covered with shame seeing the disinterested actions of His Majesty, and thus stood in the pillory of disgrace !

We might appropriately regard the above document as Akbar's *Edict of Universal Toleration*. Eighteen centuries before Akbar, Açoka had issned similar edicts of universal charity and toleration, and had them engraved on pillars, caves and rocks all over India. About forty of these inscriptions are still to be found in the remotest provinces of his vast empire. And as a natural result of universal toleration and of perfect justice between all classes, India in the days of Açoka, *i. e.*, in the middle of the third century before Christ, became so united, happy and prosperous, as she had never before been in historic times, if we are to believe the Greek accounts that have fortunately been still preserved for our information.

Theosophists would probably say, that *Acoka*, "the *Priyadarsi*," was re-incarnated as *Akbar-i-Azam* to re-establish the kingdom of love and peace, justice and righteousness in India.

परित्राणाय साधूनाम् विनाशायच दुष्क्रिताम् ।
धर्म्मसंस्थापनार्थाय सम्भबामि यु गे युगे ॥

For the protection of the good, for the destruction of evil-doers, for the sake of firmly establishing righteousness, I am born from age to age.

Gita, IV, 8.

Abdul Kadir Badaoni thus summarises the reasons that led Akbar to renounce orthodox Islam and found instead the *Din-i-Ilahi* :

> From his earliest childhood to his manhood, and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs and has collected everything which people can find in books with a talent for selection peculiar to him and a spirit of inquiry opposed to every (Islamic) principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart and as the result of all the influences which were brought to bear on His Majesty, there grew gradually as the outline on a stone the conviction in his heart *that there were sensible men in all religions and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous powers among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion or to a creed like Islam, which was comparatively new and scarcely a thousand years old*; *why should one sect assert what other denies and why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself* ?
>
> Badaoni, Vol II, p. 256.

The above analysis is correct and quite unimpeachable, coming as it does from one who was an orthodox Mahomadan and had no partiality whatever for the new-fangled creed. Through his various studies and constant researches, Akbar had gradually arrived at the same views of religious toleration which two centuries later on Lessing dramatised with such excellent effect in his famous drama *Nathan, the Wise*. All the *Three Rings* are of equal size and value and so are all the religions of the world : Why then fight and quarrel ?

For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight,
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

Pope's *Essay on Man.*

What are the two fundamental texts of the *Din-i-Ilahi?*

They are:

> There is no God but God, and Akbar is His Kaliph.
> *La Illah illa Allah wal Akbar o Khalifat Ullah.*
> لا اله الا الله, والاكبر خليفتة الله

This is the *Kalma* of the new Faith, with this difference, however, that Akbar here takes the place of Muhammad himself. I am well aware, that the word Kaliph means only a *vicegerent*, and not a *prophet*; but if we are to believe all that both Abul Fazl as well as the *Dabistan* relate about Akbar's supernatural powers of healing, &c., there can be no doubt, that he did aspire also to the high dignity of a Prophet of God. This is what Abul Fazl says in his *Ain-i-Akbari*:

> Not a day passes but people bring cups of water to him (Akbar), beseeching him to breathe upon it. He who reads the letters of the Divine orders in the Book of Fate on seeing the tidings of hope takes the water with his blessed hands, places it in the rays of the world-illuminating Sun, and fulfills the desire of the suppliant. Many sick people of broken hopes whose diseases the most eminent physicians pronounced incurable have been restored to health by this Divine means.—*Ain*, p. 164-165.

Abul Fazl further relates the miracle of a tongue cut-off being duly restored by Akbar's supernatural powers.

This desire to set himself up as the prophet of a new religion was, further, strengthened in Akbar's mind by the Mahdavi movement which had taken a definite shape during the first century preceding the Millennium of Islam through the teaching of Mir Syed Muhammad of Jaunpore, Sheik Alai of Bengal, and a host of others in different parts of India. Sheik Mubârak, the father of Faizi and Abul Fazl, was a zealous adherent of this new movement and would have paid for it with his life, but for the kind intercession, as I have already mentioned, of Khan-i-Azam Azeez Mirza Koka who recommended him to the Emperor. The Mahdavis asserted, that the latter days of Islam were to be marked by a general decadence in political power and in morals, which, on reaching its climax, is to be followed by the appearance of *Imam Mahdi* or the *Sâhâb-i-Zaman, i.e., The Lord of the Period,* who will restore the sinking faith of mankind to its original purity. Some of the Mullahs and courtiers pretended to prove from old documents and hoary traditions that Akbar was the anticipated *Sahab-i-Zaman* or the twelvth Imam. The twelvth Imam would also have many wives, shave his beard, and reconcile all the differences in the 72 sects of Islam. This idea of the restorer of the Millennium was revived during the discussions at Fatehpur Sikri with this important modification, however, that Akbar himself was pointed out as the prophesied Imâm. This new feature had Akbar's full approval and exercised a very decided influence on the progress of the new Faith. He ordered Abul Fazl to compile a *Twarikh-i-Alfi* or "A History of the Millennium." This history was to represent Islam as having existed through its pre-destined term, and was now nearing its very end. It had already existed one thousand years (Alif) and had done its work. This history begins with events subsequent to the death of the Prophet of Islam, and ends abruptly with the reign of' Umar-ibn-i-Abdul Malik (A. H. 99). The years are reckoned from the death of the Prophet, and not from the Hijra. His Majesty was now (1582) convinced, that the Millennium was drawing near. The first order that was passed was that the coinage should show the era of the Millennium. The era of the Hijra was abolished. On copper coins and gold mohurs the era of the Alfi or the Millennium was used, indicating that the religion of Muhammad was to last one thousand years and then to be superseded by a higher and a truer faith. Besides the *Kalma* referred to above, the new Religion which might be designated as a sort of eclectic Unitarianism, had a dash of mysticism about it which was symbolised by rites and ceremonials, chiefly borrowed from the Parsis and the Hindus. The Parsi and Hindu leanings of the Emperor were well-known. A new era, called the *Tarikh-i-Ilahi*, beginning with the vernal equinox was introduced and the names of the months were the same as in the days of the old Persian kings. This *Tarikh-i-Ilahi* is still in vogue in Hyderabad (Deccan), and the so-called Fasli months that are still used in all State records are the same Zoroastrian months that were introduced by Akbar more than three centuries ago. Would to God, like Akbar's era, Akbar's *Din-i-Ilahi* were also the religion of this State! Would it not then be a truly *Ideal State*, and a really resuscitated miniature of Akbar's Empire?

A band of Mobeds and Dasturs, headed by Meherji Rana, had arrived from Nowsari in Guzerat and had explained to the

Emperor the esoteric sense of the rites and tenets of the Zoroastrian faith. At the *Jamshed-i-Nauroz*, which was changed into Nauroz-i-Jalali, a great feast was given every year. Zoroastrian festivals became quite fashionable. His Majesty also adopted different suits of clothes of seven different colours, each of which was worn on a particular day of the week in honour of the seven colours of the seven planets. On the same auspicious day, *i.e.*, the Nauroz-Day, a *Minabazaar* was held where ladies of the harem kept the stalls. Marriage-contracts and betrothals were often arranged here. Some of you will probably recollect that it was at one of these *Minabazaars* that youthful Selim first met, and was fascinated by the graces and charms of the lovely Meher-un-nissa subsequently known as Nur Jahan or the Light of the World. Two years ago during the Prince of Wales' visit to India, a similar *Minabazaar* was organised by Lady Minto in Calcutta. I wonder, if that *Minabazaar* of Calcutta reminded any of the visitors and patrons of the Fair and especially the Amir Habeeb-ul-lah Khan who played such a conspicuous rôle in it of the magnificent *Minabazaars* held by Akbar at Agra, Delhi and Lahore more than three centuries before. From the New Year's Day of the 25th year of his reign (1580), His Majesty openly worshipped the Sun and the Fire by prostrations, and the courtiers were ordered to rise when the candles and lamps were lighted in the palace. Some of the Hindu rites and customs were also adopted. The *Hom* ceremony which is common both to the Hindus and the Parsis was daily performed, in the inner apartments of Akbar's chief Queen Jodhbai, the mother of Jahangir. Akbar had from his very early youth freely and familiarly associated with the Pandits, Yogis and Sannyasis of the various Hindu sects, and had tried to extract from them the real meaning of esoteric as well as of exoteric Hinduism. He had a Brahman called Purushottamma or Devi, hauled up at midnight in a *charpoy* on to the balcony of the harem from whom he used to gather all kinds of information about the different forms and the various practices of popular Hinduism till the small hours of the morning. Beef-eating was strictly forbidden. Orders were given to abstain from meat on certain days so that by and by these fast-days extended over six months in every year. Then there was a second order that the Sun should be worshipped four times every day. The Emperor was in the habit of daily reciting thousand-and-one Sanskrit names of the Sun which the Pandits had taught him. On the festival of the 8th day of the Virgo, called the *Râkhipurnima* which usually falls on the full moon day of the month of *Srâvana* (August), Akbar put on, like a Hindu, the caste-mark *Tika* on his forehead and appeared in the Audience Hall when several Brahmans tied by way of auspiciousness, a string with jewels round his hands, whilst the *Omrahs, i. e.*, the grandees countenanced these proceedings by bringing, according to their rank and means pearls and jewels as *nazars*. This custom of *Rakhibandhanam* or of tying pieces of cloth round the wrists as amulets became quite common, and is still continued, I am told, of course in a very modified form, by the present descendants of the Moghul Emperors of Delhi. Two years ago at the tricentenary of Akbar's death, it was enthusiastically revived by the patriots and nationalists of Bengal as a Shamrock badge of national unity and brotherly federation all over the country. No wonder Hindus and Brahmans began to regard the Emperor as an *Avatâr* or incarnation of the Divinity. Sanskrit verses said to have been found in some of the old Puranas were produced in which it had been distinctly prophesied, that a great conqueror of foreign origin would rise up in India in the fullness of time who would honour Brahmans, protect cows and govern with perfect justice and toleration. Who else could he be but the Emperor Akbar? When early in the morning Akbar first apppeared on the balcony of his palace, thousands of Hindus and Brahmins who had been anxiously waiting for his *darsan*, that is to say, for a glimpse of his Divine countenance, used to prostrate themselves immediately on the ground as before a Divinity :—दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा, that is to say, "the Lord of Delhi is the same as the Lord of the World." Inspite of what ill-informed and malevolent critics might say to the contrary, the Hindus are by birth and tradition so full of loyalty, gratitude and veneration, that I should not be in the least surprised, if some day or other, they begin to regard our late beloved Queen Victoria as an incarnation of the *Bhavâni* herself.

Consistent with the free and eclectic nature of his religious tendencies, Akbar cherished also a great regard for the doctrines of Christianity. When the Padrees of Italy and of Portugal showed him the images of Christ and of Virgin Mary, Akbar rose from his throne and knelt before them in awe and veneration. He ordered Prince Murad, his third son, to take some lessons in the Christian faith, and ordered Abul Fazl to translate the Gospels into Persian. Instead of the usual *Bismillah-irrahman-irrahim* at the beginning of a page, the following lines were used :—" (ای نام تو جیزس وکرستو) ":—

Ai nam-i-tu Jesus o Kristo, *i.e.* " O Thou ! whose names are Jesus and Christ;" to which Faizi added the following half to complete the verse:—"Subhânaka la syâwâka ia Hû." (سبحانک لاسواک یاهو) *i.e.* " We praise Thee ! there is no one besides Thee, O God." The fact is, Akbar was by nature too intensely devout and religious to be able to belong to any particular dogmatic creed. " Why don't you belong to any particular creed ?" somebody once asked Schiller, the famous German poet. " Out of regard for religion," answered he. Akbar's answer, I feel sure, would have been very similar. Some reverend gentlemen of Berlin once complained to Thomas Carlyle that it was sad to think, that their great poet and philosopher Goethe was not a denominational Christian. Carlyle's reply was quite charateristic " Meine Herren ! don't you know the story of the silly fop who once complained that the Sun didn't light his cigar ?" Such a sun was veritably Akbar's great soul, and it possessed such clear vision and deep spirituality, that it soared high above all the little sectarian rushlights and dogmatic candle-sticks that light other people's ways, in order that he might worship the Divine Sun face to face in all its infinite and undiminished effulgence. No wonder Akbar took Sun as the fittest symbol of the Divinity he worshipped. Sheikh Mubârak once said to Rajah Bir Bal : " Just as there are interpolations in your holy books so there are many in our Koran ; hence it is impossible to trust either." This saying of the illustrious scholar, and commentator of the Koran, clearly proves, that the adherents of the new Faith did not believe either in the perfect infallibility of the Sacred Books or in that of the Prophets through whom they had been revealed. It was evidently a form of philosophical and rationalistic Deism based on pure and practical reason, and chiefly verified by the primordial intuitions of the human soul. In some respects, this new creed of Akbar and Abul Fazl resembles the Neo-philanthropic deism of Voltaire, Volney and Rousseau which created such a tremendous stir a century and a half later in the intellectual circles of Europe. On the other hand, the almost exclusive and one-sided study of Arabic theological literature was greatly discouraged, while the study of astronomy, philosophy, medicine, mathematics and that of polite literature in general was strongly recommended and liberally patronised. Akbar meant to do for the Mahomedans of India what Peter the Great had done for Russia and Frederic the Great for Germany. This is as it should be. What a good thing would it be, if our Mahomedan friends and brothers of the present day would take up the hint and do likewise! No use reading only old books and mumbling over old forms when we have outgrown the necessity. Nature and society are ever evolving to a newer and higher type, and those races that desire to survive in the strenuous struggle of our modern life must make continual re-adaptations and re-adjustments to their new environments. Otherwise there will be nothing but stagnation and then final dissolution.

Recalcitrant Mullahs and Kazis, Sheikhs and Fakirs of the orthodox school were sent away to Kandahar and other places, and exchanged for horses. If we could do the same with at least a portion of our bigoted Mullahs, Pandits and mendicant Fakirs whose number is so considerable, how vastly the State would benefit both in point of economy as well as of enlightenment. The conflict between Religion and Science would be minimized, and our beloved country would make far quicker progress in the western sciences than she has hitherto done. In fact, this reaction against everything Arabic was so decided and pronounced, that Badaoni says, that the following two verses of Furdausi's *Shahnameh* were frequently on the lips of the courtiers :—

From drinking the milk of camels, and eating the flesh of lizards,
the Arabs have made such progress,
That they now wish to get hold of the Kingdom of Persia.

ز شیر شتر خوردن و سوسمار * عرب را بجائے رسید است کار
که تخت کیان را کنند آرزو * تفو بر تو اے چرخ گردان تفو

In the new Faith, the usual form of Mahomedan salutation, *Salâm Alaikum*, was changed into *Allahu Akbar*, *i.e.*, *God is Great!* To which the response was: *Jalla Jalalahu*, *i.e.*, *May His glory ever shine forth.*

Some have insinuated, that the meaning of these terms of salutation introduced into the new Faith was rather ambiguous. They might imply, that Akbar himself was God, and may, therefore, the glory of Jalaluddin Akbar ever shine forth!

Akbar enjoined the old Hindu and Persian custom of prostration before the Sovereign. It gave great offence to the orthodox Mahomedans who consider *sijda* or prostration only due to God. It was absolutely binding on all the disciples of the new faith to whom Akbar was Khaliph as well as King.

If any body desired to embrace the new Faith, he had, in the first place to send forward the following declaration to Abul Fazl, its *Mujtahid* or High Priest:—

"I, such a one, son of such a one, have willingly and cheerfully renounced and rejected Islam, in all its phases, whether high or low, as I have witnessed in my ancestors, and have joined the *Divine Faith* of Shah Akbar, and declare myself willing to sacrifice to him my property and life, my honour and religion."

This readiness to sacrifice *property and life, honour and religion*, for the sake of the Sovereign was called *the four degrees*, (اخلاص چہارگانہ) and the position of a *chela* or disciple was decided according to the number of degrees he had already passed through.

After the above declaration the *chela* had to pass through a ceremony of initiation which I cannot do better than relate in the words of the Mujtahid himself:—

> On a Sunday noon, the novice with his turban in his hands puts his head on the feet of His Majesty. This is symbolical, and expresses that the novice guided by good fortune and the assistance of his good star has cast aside his conceit and selfishness, the root of so many evils, offers his heart in worship, and now comes to inquire as to the means of obtaining ever-lasting life. His Majesty, the Chosen One of God, then stretches out the hand of favour, raises up the neophyte, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by their symbolical actions, that he has raised up a man of pure intentions who from seeming existence has now entered into real life. His Majesty then gives the novice the *Shact* upon which is engraved 'the Great Name,' and His Majesty's symbolical motto: *Allahu Akbar!* This teaches the novice the truth, that 'the pure *Shact* and the pure sight never err.'

Shact means a ring or a thread. Here a ring is evidently meant. As I have already hinted, the new Faith made but slow progress. It was at first limited only amongst the inti-

Mullahs and Maulavis to insurrections, one of which actually took place at Jaunpore and had to be put down by force. At the festival of the Emperor's accession in 992 (1584), numerous conversions took place. They were admitted as disciples in sets of twelve, one set at a time, and declared their willingness to adopt the new principles and to follow the new Religion. The great Hindu nobles such as Rajah Bhagwan Das, Rajah Man Singh, and Rajah Toder Mull held off, although they were quite ready to pass *the four degrees* in the loyal service of their Sovereign as they had already sufficiently testified by their various and life-long deeds. Only Rajah Bir Bal became a *chela* and a fervent *chela* too. In 1594, Mirza Azimkhan Koka who was recalcitrant at first, returned from Mecca where he had suffered much harm at the hands of the Shariffs and Bedawi plunderers. He immediately joined the *Divine Faith*, performing the *Sijda* and following all other rules of discipleship. He shaved off his beard to which he had strongly objected before his pilgrimage to Mecca, and was very forward at social meetings and in conversation. Badaoni maliciously insinuates, that he got the *jaigirs* of Gazipur and Hajipur as a reward of his conversion to the new Faith.

Here is a list of some of the most prominent members of the *Din-i-Ilahi* :—

(1) Abul Fazl, (2) Faizi, his brother the Poet-Laureate, (3) Sheik Mubarak of Nagore, their father, (4) Jafar Beg Asofkhan of Quazwin, a historian and a poet, (6) Azimkhan Koka, after his return from Mecca, (5) Kazim-i-Kahé, a poet, (7) Abdussamad, Akbar's Court-painter, also a poet, (8) Mullah Shah Muhammad of Shahabad, a historian, (9) Sufi Muhammad, (10, 11 and 12) Sadr Jahan and his two sons, the Crown lawyer, (13) Mir Sharif of Amul, Akbar's apostle for Bengal, (14) Sultan Khwajah a Sadr, (15) Mirza Jani, chief of Tata, (16) Taki of Shustar, a poet, and 200 mansabdar, &c., (17) Sheikhzada Gosala of Benares, and (18) Rajah Bir Bal.

It is remarkable, that in the above list, all but one are Muhammadans, and Muhammadans too holding high offices and wielding vast influence. The Mullahs and the Kazis are also very well represented. But the element that undoubtedly predominates is the literary one that is to say, of distinguished poets and liberal-minded philosophers.

The following prayer to God on a temple at Kashmere which is attributed to Abul Fazl gives the very quintessence of the *Din-i-Ilahi* in beautiful verses :—

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee,
And in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee,
Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee ;
Each religion says : 'Thou art One, without equal.'
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer,
And if it be a Christian Church,
People ring the bell from love to Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister and sometimes the mosque,
But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.
The elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy ;
For, neither of them stands behind the screen of Truth.
Heresy to the heretic and religion to the orthodox,
But a little painful longing is enough for Fariduddin Attar.

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan and especially those of His worshippers that live in the Province of Cashmere.

By order of the Lord of the Throne and the Crown
The lamp of creation, Shah Akbar,
In whom the seven minerals find uniformity,
In whom the four elements attain perfect mixture.

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple should first destroy his own place of worship, for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men ; but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

O God, Thou art just and judgest an action by the motive ;
Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime and tellest the King what motive a King should have.

الهي بهر خانه كه مي نگرم جوياے تو اند– و بهر زباں كه مي شنوم گوياے تو –
کفرواسلام دررهت پویاں * "وحده لاشریک له" گویاں
اگر مسجد ست بیاد تو نعرهٔ قدوس ميزنند– اگر کلیساست بشوق تو ناقوس مي جنبانند–
گه معتکف دیرم و گه ساکن مسجد * یعنی که ترا می طلبم خانه بخانه
اگر خاصان ترا بکفر و اسلام کارے نیست– این هر دورا در پردهٔ اسلام تو بارے نه –
کفر کافر را و دین دیندار را * ذرهٔ دردے دل عطار را
این خانه به نیت ایتلاف قلوب موحدان هندوستان و خصوصاً معبود پرستان عرصهٔ کشمیر تعمیر یافته –

بفرمان خدیو تخت وافسر * چراغ آفرینش شاه اکبر
نظام اعتدال هفت معدن * کمال امتزاج چار عنصر

هر که نظر صدق نه‌ینداخته این خانه را خراب سازد باید که نخست معبد خودرا به‌یندازد چه اگر نظر بردل است باهمه ساختنی است– و اگر چشم برآب وگل است همه برانداختنی–

خداوندا چوداد کار دادی * مدار کار بر نیت نهادی
توئی بر بارگاه نیت آگاه * نه پیش شاه داری نیت شاه

The burden of Abul Fazl's prayer given above is the same as that of Lord Tennyson's :—

> Our little systems have their day
> They have their day and cease to be ;
> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O God, art more than they.
>
> *In Memoriam.*

or as Sri Krishna says in the Gita :—

> ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।
> मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥ ४ ॥

However men approach Me even so do I welcome them ; for the path men take from every side is Mine, O Partha. IV, 11.

Akbar died on the 14th of October, 1605, when he was 63 years old. He, it will be remembered, was born on the 14th of October, 1542. So that Akbar, like his great contemporary Shakespeare in a different sphere, died on the very same day that he was born (Shakespeare was born on the 23rd of April, 1564, and died on the same day 1616, 53 years old.) Akbar was consequently a contemporary of the Queen Elizabeth of England ; and if comparisons were not invidious I should find easy enough to show, that the Indian Emperor was far superior to the English Queen as much by the humane and cosmopolitan breadth of his religious and political views as by the great capacity for military and administrative affairs which he so eminently possessed. His son Jehangir, in his well-known Memoirs says, that just before his passing away, Akbar sent for one of his chief Mullahs and repeating the *Kalma* in his presence, expired in all the rites and forms of a good Mohammedan. I see no reason to doubt this statement of the royal son and historian though Dr. Blochmann seems to do so. Akbar was neither a spiteful critic nor a rabid iconoclast like Voltaire or Tom Paine. He was, on the contrary a constructive reformer and a far-seeing statesman of the very highest order, whose object was peace and reconciliation. Hence he always avoided giving offence where he could do so without sacrificing any essential principles or creating disagreeable complications which led to no positive good results.

After Akbar's death, the *Din-i-Ilahi*, which was too abstract and idealistic for the comprehension of the general public and which had therefore been chiefly confined to literary men and eclectic philosophers, began to die of sheer indifference and of positive neglect. Jehangir whose bias and predilections led him to pursuits and idiosyncracies of a nature very different from those of his great father, was prejudiced against the new creed from the very start for no other reason than that Abul Fazl was admittedly the *bonafide Mujtahid* or acknowledged High priest of the *Din-i-Ilahi.* His successor Shah Jehan had been brought up in the orthodox principles of Islam, and was far too busy at first with the military and administrative consolidation of his huge Empire, and later on with the building of those architectural marvels which are said to have been designed by Titans and finished by jewellers, to be able to devote much time or attention to eclectic religious philosophy of any kind or description. His eldest son Dara Shikoh was, however, a different man altogether. He openly professed the religious tenets of Akbar and had actually written a book to reconcile the doctrines of the Hindus and the Mohamedans. A few years before, Dara Shikoh had sent for some Pandits from Benares and had employed them to make a Persian translation of no less than 50 of the Upanishads. A century and a half later, this Persian translation, was rendered into Latin by Anquétil du Perron—the first and the famous Zend scholar of France—under the name of the "Upanekhats." It was this Latin "Upanekhat" which Arthur Schopenhauer studied with so much enthusiasm and which laid the characteristic basis of his pantheistic and pessimistic philosophy. But Dara Shikoh though eminently fitted by his birth, breeding and character to be a worthy successor of Akbar was ousted from his prescriptive and hereditary rights by the wiles and intrigues of the third son of Shah Jehan, well-known in history as Aurungzebe. Aurungzebe defeated him at Samaghar near Agra in June, 1658, and had him put to death a year after on a charge of apostacy. Thus perished the last hope and the last royal patron of the *Din-i-Ilahi* in Akbar's own great-grandson who was more like himself in character, temperament and religious views than any other member of the Imperial family of Delhi. To me it is a very sad thought, how different in every respect India might have been to-day, if instead of the crafty, bigoted and unscrupulous Aurungzebe, the frank, the liberal and the noble-hearted, Dara Shikoh had ascended the throne of the Moghul Emperors. "A Mullah was on the throne," says an English critic, and this great Mullah—for he was certainly great as much by his intellectual capacity as by the dogged perseverance with which he followed a definite policy of action for no less than 50 years—slowly but surely pulled down the great edifice of the Indian Empire which the great King Akbar had so carefully reared in the course of the same period. Since it is always far easier to destroy than to build. It took centuries for the Cæsars to build the magnificent metropolis of the Roman Empire, but it needed only a couple of days for Alaric the Goth to burn it down to ashes. Aurungzebe had no doubt crushed and finally incorporated the two Shia kingdoms of the Deccan, I mean Golconda and Bijapur, a political blunder worse than a crime which he ought never to have committed, if the zeal of a bigotted Mullah had not totally blinded him to the duties and responsibilities of a far-seeing politician and a wise sovereign. His policy of perfect distrust and religious intolerance had thoroughly alienated all his Hindu subjects; and the Sikhs, the Rajputs and the Maharattas were all up in arms against him in all parts of the vast Empire. The last twenty years of his reign were spent in the Deccan in fighting against the Maharattas who continuously insulted and harassed the rear of his Grand Army and plundered with impunity. the outskirts of his huge, unwieldy camp at Ahmadnagar where he had finally retired to die. He knew that his end was near, and he was so filled with terror and remorse at the recollection of the manifold and numerous crimes he had committed during his life-time, that he, in disjointed sentences, thus wrote to one of his favourite sons :—

> I have committed numerous crimes and I know not with what punishments I may be seized.........The agonies of death come upon me fast. I am going. Whatever good or evil I have done I have done for you.

Then in a spirit of desperate resignation, he finishes his epistle to another of his sons :—

> Come what may, I have launched my vessel on the waves. Farewell! Farewell!

Aurungzebe died on the 21st of February 1707, in the 89th year of his life and the 50th of his reign. Fifty years more and a handful of British merchants who had formed themselves into a vast trading Company in the latter days of Akbar's reign and had in the meantime been chiefly occupied with their ledger-books and annual dividends, found themselves after a short and insignificant skirmish in the mango-groves of Plassey, the undisputed masters of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Another fitty years, and Lord Minto—the great-grand-father of our present noble and liberal-minded Viceroy was already consolidating the vast territories that had in the meantime been brought under British suzerainty by Clive and Hastings, Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley. Another half a century and the Sepoy Mutiny—and it was hardly anything else, for the people of India were not *in* it—which was nothing but the last dying-throes of wild panic and of hoary superstitions against science and civilization, was easily put down by the vigour and clemency of Lord Canning and a new era for India was opened by the transfer of the Supreme Government from the Company to the Crown. What marvellous progress India has made during the last fifty years in peace and progress, in education and enlightenment is so well-known as to need no recapitulation. *Pax Britanica* overshadows the whole land, and if the various races that inhabit this vast peninsula had ever a Providential chance given to them to purge their respective societies of moral and social evils, to acquire truer and noble ideas of God and man, to revive their once glorious but now almost dying arts and industries, and above all, to lay the stable foundation of a common, united Indian national life, *it is now or never.* Mr. John Morley, the scholar and the philosopher, has taken the place of Abul Fazl, while the King-Emperor Edward so conspicuous by his tactful sympathy and general benevolence is seated on the throne of Akbar. They both represent "the alien race," *i. e.*, the English whom Akbar saw in his "dream," and who are destined by Providence to finish the beneficent work which Akbar had so well begun:—

* * * * * * I watched my son
And those that followed, losen stone from stone
All my fair work ; and from the ruin arose
The shriek and curse of trampled millions even,
As in the time before ; but while I groan'd,
From out the sunset pour'd an alien race,
Who fitted stone to stone again and Truth,
Peace, Love and Justice came and dwelt therein ;
Nor in the field without were seen or heard,
Fires of Suttee nor wail of baby-wife,
Or Indian widow ; and in sleep I said :
"All praise to Allah by whatever hands
My mission be accomplished."

Akbar's Dream—Tennyson.

INDIAN MUSIC.

By Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, D.Sc., F.L.S., F.G.S., M.R.A.S.,

Editor of the Ceylon National Review.

"We have harmonies which you have not, of quarter-sounds, and lesser slides of sounds: divers instrnments likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have" Bacon's *New Atlantis*.

SOME time ago I contributed to the *Ceylon University Journal*, a 'Plea for the Teaching of Indian Music in Ceylon'. The appreciation of music has almost died out in Ceylon since the rule of the last Kandyan kings. The last king was fond of music, and like other Eastern rulers, kept a band of court musicians, singers, dancers, and players on instruments. But almost the only music now to be heard in Sinhalese Ceylon, beside the agricultural songs, is the daily *tevava* or musical service in viharas and devales, (Buddhist temples and those of the Hindu gods worshipped by Buddhists in Ceylon). In this music three kinds of drums, cymbals, and oboes are used; these are also to be heard at festivals, and in processions. The music is good of its kind, especially the drumming; the general effect in procession is something like that of a drum and fife band, cheerful and inspiring. But as representing Indian music, it is quite inadequate; and good as the agricultural songs may be, they are very simple and slight; and singing is not studied by any other of the Sinhalese people at the present day.

Much the same is true of the Tamils in Ceylon. In Jaffna it is almost impossible to hear good music, other than the temple music of drums and oboes, and the singing of two or three skilled dancing girls. In Colombo it is not possible to hear the last, as dancing girls are no longer connected with the Hindu temples there. In Jaffna the *vina* and *sarangi*, the best and sweetest of Indian instruments, are practically unknown. In some mission schools a little piano and singing of hymns is done; but the so-called Christian lyrics, which do represent some attempt to make use of Indian airs, are but the faintest echo of the real thing. Western music in English schools indeed, is regarded only as an elegant accomplishment in most cases, and is rarely anything more. There are girls whose parents have asked that they might learn 'a few strokes on the violin before they left!' just as they learn 'a little French' without ever expecting to speak to a Frenchman or read a French book. So that there was need indeed to plead (quite vainly, no doubt) with the people, and the Department of Public Instruction, for the teaching of Indian Music in Ceylon.

What of music in India herself? It is simply a question of whether or not Indian music can be saved before it is too late! The great danger of modern education in India is its ideal of purely material prosperity in the case of secular (Government) schools and colleges, and the refusal or inability to recognize any responsibility to the past in almost all missionary institutions. The consequent break in the continuity of the historical tradition is fatal to Indian culture. To take music as the special case: it is probable that there is not in India any educational institution under European inspiration, where Indian music has any place whatever in the scheme of education. There is no Indian university where the existence of Indian music, or its importance in Indian culture are recognized. Of Europeans engaged in education in India, it is safe to say that less than 1% (if so many) have any knowledge of it as a science, or any appreciation of it as an art. By most, it is quite frankly regarded as mere noise and clamour. It is only one illustration of the unfitness of Englishmen to control Indian education; they are unfitted alike by lack of knowledge and by lack of sympathy. The right place for English teachers in India now, whatever it may have been in the past, is in the employ of Indian educationalists. We should engage them for special purposes, as is done in Japan, and not allow them to control, where they do not understand or sympathise. It is of infinitely more importance for us to control the education of our children, than it is for us to control our own trade. It is better to be bare of wealth than to be bare of ideas. Swadeshi in the economic sphere moreover will assuredly follow swadeshi in education; for no small part of the national expenditure to-day goes to buy foreign-made articles which India does not really require, and from the possession of which she does not benefit, but very much the reverse. A generation of really national education would go further towards restoring the degraded taste which makes possible the purchase of quantities of the cheap and vulgar manufactures of Europe—clothing, furniture, cut glass, dyes, etc., and towards the re-establishment of the national handicrafts, than three generations of mere agitation and crying of 'Boycott,' however useful and necessary these may be. In the case of music for example, if a healthy taste could be restored, through a re-vivification of the national culture, it would no longer be necessary for India to spend annually 13 lakhs of rupees on imported musical instruments, including pianos, violins, and, more especially, harmoniums and gramophones, the universal popularity of which last, is such damning evidence of the growing vulgarization of Indian taste. While small Indian capitalists are in a position to exploit the national sentiment by making wretched imitations of good English paper, nibs, or soap, the skilled craftsman, in this case the maker of musical instruments, is starving for want of occupation, and his hereditary knowledge, a definite asset in the national credit, is passing away for ever. While groups of well-meaning individuals are busy making bad Swadeshi biscuits, and others sacrifice a few pice per pound to buying them, the carver of wood, the ivory inlayer, the drawer of wire and the professional musician are all neglected for the travesties of music performed on harmoniums or lily flutes, or reproduced *ad nauseam* on gramophones, the profit on whose manufacture goes out of India. Do not suppose it would be any advantage to make them locally. The hope of reviving trade by reproducing locally any article that may come into fashion, without regard to its real value, is as delusive as it is mean. It is never an advantage to a nation to produce useless or vicious luxuries; it does not increase the national wealth. By the time your harmonium factory is doing well, and Indians in it, working seventeen hours a day, are producing for the shareholders a dividend of 35% (as in the Bombay cotton mills), some European or American invents a 'harmoniola' or something equally insane, cheaper and easier to play,—and where are you then? But no foreigner could make for you a *vina*, or paint or inlay it with ivory, or carve for it a figure of Saraswati; those are things which European or American factories cannot do.

Do not think that the desire for continual change is any evidence of progress. The eternal things are always with us. It is not Indian instruments which are to blame if we cannot express through them to-day, or recognize when heard the expression of the great emotions that the past uttered in no other way. As, in Europe, the violin cannot at any cost be better made to-day than it was made two hundred years ago, as too the violin will assuredly outlast the piano, so we may doubt if the *vina* can ever be improved upon as a medium for the expression of emotion in terms of Indian music. The difficulty is other than that; it is that India does not any longer desire to express emotion in terms of art at all; India is content with mechanism, and a purely material ideal of prosperity.

Only the call of the Motherland will waken into music the silent lute and voice. The new music will not be played on the harmonium, or reproduced upon the gramophone. It will be played on Indian instruments, and be a live thing in the hearts of Indian men and women. *If* new instruments are needed to express new feelings, or to vary the manner of expression of old—and it is harder to think that Indians could outgrow the *vina*, than to imagine that Europe could outgrow the violin—will not the people whose genius evolved the *vina* itself, from whom indeed came the prototype of almost every European instrument, be able to respond? Or is the present death in life of Indian creative genius to last for ever, and are we never to do anything again but copy and copy? If that be so, let us at least copy something good, that we may keep alive the memory of beauty that was with us once. For Indian music, like Indian art and literature and philosophy, is one essential expression of Indian culture and civilization. By civilization we may broadly understand, the production of civil persons, in every true sense of the word. That the present neglect of Indian music does not illustrate the progress of such civilization, is within the experience of all of us. A Tamil lady sang for me once some Sanskrit and Tamil hymns. But her son, who attended the Government college, where such things as his own music and his own language were not taught or mentioned, had neither the wish to listen, nor the respect which should have kept him silent; he worked a gramophone all the time his mother sang. How utterly impossible such a situation would once have been! One is led to wonder sometimes whether it is civilization or barbarism that the West is bringing to the East.

It would be impossible to explain to one not already familiar with Indian life, in what countless ways music has been bound up with the national culture. It is the most universal expression of emotion, religious, amorous or martial.

Music belonged to every part of life. The flute of Krishna, the *vina* of Saraswati; the dance of Siva; the Gayatri as cosmic chant or music of the spheres; the hymns of passionate adoration of the Southern Saivite, all these belong to the association of music and religion. Song and agriculture, too, are intimately connected; in Ceylon, for example, as you walk along some narrow village track, you may come suddenly upon a hillside clearing where twenty or thirty men are working, and singing at their work, led by an old man with a quavering voice; or a row of stooping women weeding, and singing as they progress steadily across the field in the hot sun; at work in a wet field transplanting rice. Such scenes did not escape the notice of Sinhalese poets; a mediæval version of the Makha Deva Jataka relates that as a certain prince went on his way, he saw "hundreds of girls tending the ear-laden fields, singing sweet songs without fault, wherein his own life was praised." One such song relates the exploits of a national hero named Gaja Bahu; in another well-known song, the tala palm is praised.

> In Rayigam Korale renowned there grew a famous tala-palm,
>   Fairer than speech can tell.
>
> With various beauty crowned,
>   From village unto village known;
>
> Fair of hue this palm-flower bloomed.
>   As it were lotus petals expanded on the tree.

The half religious character of many of the agricultural songs is very noteworthy; one sowing song begins as follows,—"When the fields are well prepared, which lie round Balagala-hill, right quickly then the seed is sown by Four Regents of the Earth." A threshing song runs "This is not our threshing floor, 'tis the Moon-god's threshing floor; this is not our threshing floor, 'tis the Sun-god's threshing floor." Such songs are the fruit of that 'pagan' conception of all life as a sacrament, which gives in the East so much beauty and dignity to common things. What more perfect picture can one have of the simple agricultural life of an Indian village, than the bright moonlight threshing floor, freshly cleaned and consecrated, where the corn is trodden out by the feet of bulls driven round a 'bull-post' in the middle? Even the bulls are in the song.—

O bull-king, leader of the team,
O Veriya going next him.
And Kalata the bull-calf,
Make haste to get the threshing done
I will get your twin horns gilt,
Deck your pair of ears with pearls,
And eke your dew-claws,
So shall I adorn ye!
Ye bulls that wander by the hillside,
Yoked together by a woodbine,
Wearing pearls and coral beads,
And eating tender leaves, . . .
Draw the grain into this threshing floor!

Such are the agricultural songs. Simple as they are, those who have heard them in their own surroundings, will not easily forget them. But even these are less used than formerly, and in time will be gone.

There is this character in Indian music, that it speaks directly to the feelings.

> "For all their musike bothe that they play upon instrumentes, and that they singe with mannes voyce dothe so resemble and expresse natural affections, the sound of the tune is so applied and made agreable to the things, that whether it bee a prayer, or els a dytty of gladnes, of patience, of trouble, of mourninge, or of anger: the fassion of the melodye dothe so represente the meaning of the thing, that it doth wonderfullye move, stirre, pearce, and enflame the hearers myndes." (More's Utopia).

Music indeed has been thought to have power even over animals and inanimate things. Stories of the influence of certain *ragas* over nature recall the legends of Orpheus and Apollo.* How profound and intimate has been the appeal of Eastern music to the East, may be guessed from such stories, and the many other references in oriental literature.

The tenderness of all Eastern music is suggested in a wonderful passage from the Arabian Nights. The Cairene singer in the tale of Miriam and Ali Nur-ud-din had an Indian lute kept in a satin bag with slings of gold; she opened and shook it,

> whereupon there fell thereout two and thirty pieces of wood, which she fitted one into another, male into female and female into male, till

---

* Some of these are quoted by Captain Day, in his *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India.*

they became a polished lute of Indian workmanship. Then she uncovered her wrists and laying the lute in her lap, bent over it with the bending of mother over babe, and swept the strings with her fingertips; whereupon it moaned and resounded and after its olden home yearned; and it remembered the waters that gave it drink and the earth whence it sprang and wherein it grew, and it minded the carpenters who cut it and the polishers who polished it, and the merchants who made it their merchandise and the ships that shipped it; and it cried and called aloud and moaned and groaned; and it was as if she asked it of all these things and it answered her with the tongue of the case.

Indian music can best be heard, and dancing seen, in the great Southern cities such as Madura and Tanjore, and in the native states, Mysore and Travancore. In such places it is still studied as a science by learned Brahmans and patronized by princes. You may engage a dancing girl and her musicians, and invite your friends; seated upon a carpet in a room bare of all useless furniture, your entertainment is more wonderful than any that money could buy in any other land; more wonderful at least for you, for it is one expression of that national culture of which you too are a part; it is your love and your emotion, your adoration for the Lord which the dancer dances and the singer sings. Another time she is to sing only for you; she brings a *tamburi* or a *vina*, and seated like you upon the ground, pours out for as long as you will without fatigue, songs of passionate love; or devotion moving you to tears.

Suppose that it is a man who plays or sings for you; one who has wandered from court to court and received the rewards of princes and kings. He plays the *sarangi* as none else can; the Kashmir shawl he wears is the token of a raja's favour. There are no young men following in his steps; it is well to hear him while you may. In the north he will be perhaps a player on the *taus*, the 'peacock.' He too sings a song of passionate love, something at once so simple and so universal that it includes the love of God and the love of woman; it is part of the method of Indian poetry to carry double meanings, of which each deepens and explains the other, like the shot colours of a double woven cloth. There are only four of you listening, and to-night you think only of devotion to the Lord, for that thought is in the singer's heart, and he is carried away by his own emotion and neither sees nor thinks of you. And if one in his heart thinks only of his beloved on earth, yet for him too is each love the symbol and revelation of the other.

I am mad for my beloved: they say, what say they? Let them say
what they will!
Take me for a fool or a mad man; they say, what say they? Let them
say what they will!
I have nothing to do with them,
Whether they be pleased with me or angry,
May one only be gracious to me!
They say, what say they? Let them say what they will!
The Shaikh walks around his sanctuary;
I offer up myself at thy altar,
Call it sanctuary or den.
They say, what say they? Let them say what they will!
I have gazed on the glory and sheen of the cheeks of my beloved,
I am burnt up as a moth in the flame,
I am as one drunken:
They say, what say they? Let them say what they will!

So simple is the cry; but it tells alike of the love of those great ones who "are so enchanted with the beauty of the Creator of appearances, that they have nothing to do with the beauty of appearance itself," and of those with whom all the kingdoms of the earth weigh less than a feather in the scale against one woman only, upon whom their heart is set. It is for every sect and every man.

Even this is not the most wonderful experience which Indian music holds for those that have ears to hear. There is a music which comes once or twice only to you, and which it is vain to seek. The very greatest of Indian musicians are not professionals, but wandering holy men, players of the *taus* or *sarangi* or *vina*, or singers. Some evening in a northern town such an one passes by your door. You press him eagerly to lodge with you, if he will, to play for you, and he consents. You invite a few friends, and seated on the floor in an upper room, prepare to listen. A brass lamp burns by your side, and all is still. The player chooses an even simpler theme than the last,—"These many days I have not seen thee." He sings and plays, and varies infinitely the expression of this one idea. He becomes a part of this instrument, and it and the sound of him. You lose consciousness of things external, and forget to move the wick, which burns dimly and more dimly still. As he plays on—"These many days I have not seen thee," this passionate cry materialises before your eyes as a dancing figure, it may be as the Lord Krishna Himself, it may be as Radha, it may be in the form of one beloved on earth, whomsoever your thoughts are set upon, and to whom your love is given. You forget all else, and see only this rhythmic sweet appearance. At last the player ceases, leaving you silent and breathless, and the vision is gone like a dream. What did you see? You ask of one another, and you find that each saw before him his own thought, the one he loved best, and for whom in his heart was lamentation made,—"These many days I have not seen thee."

Or it may be in the South. You have gone to a musical party, a wedding at the house of a friend, you are seated with many others on the cotton carpet, and before you is a band of drummers, oboists and players of the *vina* and *tamburi*. A handsome Brahman drums on an earthen pot. A slender girl of fifteen years sits demurely on the floor, dressed in silk brocade and golden chains, her feet and arms bare, and flowers in her hair. Her mother is seated near, back against the wall; she it is that trained the girl, and now she watches her proudly. The only sounds are those of the four strings of the ivory inlaid *tamburi* and the tapping of a drum. As you are waiting for the music to begin, a man with untidy hair and a saffron robe comes in, and your host gives him eager welcome, laying a white cloth on a stool for him to sit upon. All know him well—he is a sannyasi who wanders from temple to temple, preaching little, nor performing many ceremonies, but singing tevaram and the hymns of Manikka Vasagar. As he sits silent, all eyes are turned towards him, and conversation drops to a whisper. Presently he sings some hymn of passionate adoration of Siva. His voice is thin but very sweet, melting the heart; his gentle strong personality holds every listener spell bound, not least the little dancer to whom the words and music are so familiar; he is the dancer's and the drummers' friend and hero as much as yours. Some one asks for a special hymn, 'My God, why hast thou forsaken me?' and he sings.

Me, meanest one, in mercy mingling Thou didst make Thine own,
Lord of the Bull! Lo, Thou'st forsaken me! O Thou who wear'st
Garb of fierce tiger's skin! Abiding Uttarakoca-mangai's King!
Thou of the braided lock! I fainting sink. Our Lord, uphold thou me!
What though I press no more the crimson lips of maidens fair,
With swelling breasts; behold! Thou hast forsaken me; though in,
Not out Thy worthy service, Uttara-koca-mangai's King,
I am! Thou mad'st false me Thine own, why dost Thou leave me now?[*]

---

[*] Translation by Dr. Pope, but made more literal in the second verse.

Soon he rises, smiles at the musicians and speaks for a few moments with your host, and so goes away. And then you forget for a time this dreamer, in the beauty of the dance and the clamour of the drums. Of the dance you never weary; there is eternal wonder in the perfect refinement of its grace, and the mental concentration needed to control each muscle so completely; for this is not the passionate posturing born of a passing mood, but the elaborated art of three thousand years, an art that deceives you by its seeming simplicity, but in reality idealizes every passion, human and divine; for it tells of the intensity of Radha's love for Krishna, Radha was leader of the herd-girls in Brindaban, and she, more than any, realised the depth and sweetness of the love of Krishna. "Hers was the frank and instant recognition, the deep understanding, and the constant vision of His glory. And she it was who reached the unutterable depths of sorrow, when the simple joys of that peasant-world could hold Him no longer, and He left Brindaban for ever, to return to the life and responsibility of kings, freeing His people from the tyrant of Mathura. Wherefore, because of this wondrous union between the human soul of Radha and the Divine in Krishna, all love has come to be summed up in Their love. And when the Infinite whispers Its secrets to the finite--as happens to all of us sometimes in loving—the moment is expressed in Indian poetry, as the speech of Krishna the Cowherd with Radha, leader of the Gopis." And so both have told of the Lord,—the ascetic, for whom all earthly beauty is a vain thing, and the dancing girl, who is mistress of every art that charms the senses.

The music is to last all night; but you have to be home ere dawn, and as you pass along the road in the bright moonlight, you see that life, and the renunciation of life, lead both to the same goal at last. Both ascetic and musician shall be one Brahman with Himself; it is only a question of time, more, or less, and time, as every one knows, is unreal.

On Lord, look not upon my evil qualities!
Thy name, O Lord, is same-sightedness,
Make us both one Brahman.

This Hindi song of Surdas is said to have been sung by a dancing girl at a Rajput court. And there comes to you too the thought, that "Whoso seeth all beings in That One, and

That in all, shall no more shrink from any." All this is passing away; when it is gone, men will look back on it with hungry eyes, as some have looked upon the life even of mediæval Europe, or of Greece. When civilization has made of life a business, it will be remembered that life was once an art; when culture is the privilege of bookworms, it will be remembered that it was once a part of life itself, not something achieved in stolen moments of relief from the serious business of being an engine-driver, a clerk, or a Governor. "The old culture came to a man at his work; it was not at the expense of life, but an exaltation of life itself." Let those who are still part of such a life take note of it, that they may tell their children of it when it is nothing but a memory. A 'practical' and 'respectable' world has no place for the dreamer and the dancer; they belong to the old quiet Hindu towns where the big temples and the *chatrams* tell of the faith and munificence of kings and merchant princes. In Madras there is the military band, or the music hall company on tour, what does it want with ascetics or with dancing girls?

A serious blow was given to Indian music in the north, by the puritanism and intolerance of certain of the Mughal rulers. One day the minstrels of Delhi paraded through the streets with a bier. Asked by Aurangzeb what they meant, they said that Music was dead, and must be buried; "Bury him deep," replied the Emperor, "that no sound may ever rise from him." Calvinism has not been confined to Scotland! But Akbar was wiser, and is said not only to have patronized Hindu musicians, but to have been a maker of music himself. Shah Jehan, too, gave to a certain minstrel his weight in gold as fee for his great playing.

A heavier blow has been struck than Aurangzeb's. Indian music, like the other expressions of Indian culture has gone down, for a time or for ever, before the material ideals of Western Civilization. Successful mechanism has so hypnotised the East that it is blind to its own slavery.[*] So too in the West, but the West may save itself at last; it cannot save India. India must save itself.

---

[*] As in the story of the Chinese Emperor, for whom was made a magnificent mechanical nightingale. Its song was pronounced finer by far than that of the living bird. But by degrees the mechanism wore out, and at last failed altogether; and when the Emperor lay dying, deserted by his favourites, none came to comfort him but the despised living bird!

Music has been always the delight of Hindu kings. At their courts were to be found the best musicians. Whatever the luxury or corruption of some Indian courts may have been, they were centres of culture. The place of the royal craftsmen, pandits, astronomers and musicians was assured ; their maintenance belonged to the ideal of kingly state. Culture was thus state-endowed, and pursued its way undisturbed by political events. When the Indian courts were done away with, and Indian rulers succeeded by British Governers, all this intellectual and artistic life was undermined. The English Governor with his efficiency and his reforms, needed no minstrels and no craftsmen ; all that he needed was a supply of clerks. Compare the state of Tanjore to-day with the evidence of the rule of the Hindu Rajas ; the great library neglected, a dead thing not being added to or playing a great part in the growth of national culture ; the royal musicians dispersed, and the famous collection of splendidly decorated and ancient musical instruments also dispersed ; the fine weaving done for the court a thing of the past ; the training and the emoluments of administrative office in the hands of foreigners to whom the old life and the old culture mean little or nothing, it is a strange evidence of the greatness of Western Civilization and the grandeur of British rule in India, that it should so often appear as the destroyer of culture ! Even in Native States the same process is going on ; false ideals of economy or efficiency, still more false taste have led to the dispersal of the musicians and neglect of Indian music ; what does a Maharajah want with the common music that any one can hear, when he can spend hundreds of pounds on gorgeous gramophones ? The Raja of to-day, with his French palaces and his tutor, the Resident, has too often most of the vices, more than the weakness, and little of the dignity of his predecessors. What great work Indian princes might yet do for the Indian people, in preserving the national culture ; but they first of all have hurried to dispense with it. Well the king-days are over ; it is vain to put your trust in princes ; the national culture must be preserved by the people if it is to be preserved at all. But at present, the lives of the so-called educated, the professional classes in India, are extraordinarily material in their aims, and narrow in their outlook. India, ‘progressive India,’ does not want art ; she wants desperately to be practical.

Time will show whether she alone, and for the first time i history, can be or become great without it! There was on place in India where I had hoped to find it otherwise. Th Gandharva Maha Vidyalaya, or Indian Musical College at Lahore was founded in 1901 'for the revival of ancient Hindu musi and its diffusion among the general public.' It is a musica college with a variety of courses, extending over periods of six months to eight years. The Principal Vishnu Digamber Paluskar has a thorough knowledge of vocal music and teaches well, and he is assisted by six other pandits. The work of such an institution may be, and to some extent is of immense value. But when I visited the college, I found 14 boys learning the harmonium, and one the *vina*! such was the position of the classical and best instrument of India. I cannot think how any college professing to teach Indian music can permit a harmonium to be heard within its doors. They told me it was so easy,—in three months you can play a tune on it; and it is said of the *vina* that it takes 60 years to learn, and that it is hard to find 10 more to play it in! Assuredly the harmonium is easy, the Indian player attempts no harmonies, but plays on it a mere succession of notes, some western air of the music halls, or the bare skeleton of some Hindustani air with all the cadences and lesser intervals omitted! That is the real secret, or one of the secrets, of the degeneration of Indian taste; it is easier to boil your cloth in an aniline dye, than to spend months in making a beautiful and permanent colour; easier to pick out notes on the harmonium than to play the piano or the violin; to be dressed by a tailor than to dress yourself; it is always easier to drift than to swim. But is it worth while, is it playing the game? I cannot think so. Men do not gather grapes of thorns; you cannot really get something for nothing. Let us have done with pretending that you can, let us be frank—either we have not time for music or any of the arts, because our ideal is one of purely material prosperity, in which case better make a clean sweep and have done with them altogether; or they belong to the most significant part of our life, and must be cherished accordingly. Let us make up our minds; but whichever view we take, do not let us pretend that the harmonium and the gramophone are adequate compensations for Indian music. It is not possible for India to be compensated for the loss of her music.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN INDIA: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.

By the Indian Correspondent of the *National Review*.

[The following article is, on the whole, so careful a summing up of the incidents that led to the break-up of the Surat Congress and indicates so keen an insight into the bearings of the present political situation in India,—besides being extremely interesting, coming as it does from a well-informed and sympathetic Anglo-Indian writer —that we have thought it right to present it to our readers.—Ed. H. R.]

THE Indian National Congress has been absolutely wrecked for the time being by the unscrupulous intrigues of one extraordinary man. The main originator and contriver of the disgraceful scenes of tumult at Surat was Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, of Poona; and before discussing the consequences of the Surat fiasco it will be best to explain who Mr. Tilak is, and what he stands for. To understand Congress politics aright, regard must be had, not to what appears on the surface, but to the forces and influences which lie behind. The English onlooker is led to believe that the real centre of Indian politics is in Bengal. This is by no means the case. The effective control of Indian political movements is not located in Bengal at all, or in the Punjab either, but in Western India. Calcutta makes all the noise, but the wires are pulled in Bombay and in Poona. This is true of both the Moderate and the Extremist parties. Whenever the Congress has shown signs of running off the rails, as was the case in the Subjects Committee at Calcutta a year ago, it is the powerful influence of the Bombay Moderates that has saved the situation. They intervened again in November last when the Extremists were doing their best to ruin the projected meeting at Nagpur, and took the unusual step of changing the venue of the gathering to Surat. On the other hand, the Extremists are really directed in very large measure from Poona. The Bengali orators beat the big drum, but the brains at the back are those of certain Poona Brahmins, the subtlest brains in India. A curious feature of this control of both parties in the Congress is that it is largely unseen. In England, for instance, a good deal has been heard about the alarums and excursions of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and his friends, but until he stepped from behind the veil at Surat the name of Mr. Tilak was hardly ever mentioned in the English Press

Mr. Tilak is the most curious and anomalous political force in India. He was at one time a member of the Bombay Legislative Council. He has suffered a term of imprisonment for inciting to disaffection, though the passages which brought about his conviction more than ten years ago are as milk and water compared to innumerable articles since published in Indian journals. He is a scholar withal, and his remarkable book, *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, written while he was in prison, deservedly received the admiration of the late Max Muller. His vernacular newspaper, the *Kesari*, is among the most violent and the most widely circulated of Indian native journals. It is one of the few vernacular newspapers which produce a handsome profit. What Mr. Tilak's real politics are few people could define. So far as I can see, he stands for nothing but destruction. He is an apostle of anarchy. In his political career he figures chiefly as a wrecker. He obtained control of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha by swamping it with his own nominees, and thereby he compelled the Poona Moderates to form another organisation, known as the Deccan Sabha. For years he has schemed to carry out the same tactics on a larger scale in the National Congress. He is the originator of the cult of Sivaji, and seeks to revive the spirit of nationalism among the Mahratta peoples, the last race to dominate India prior to the rise of the English. More than a year and a half ago he actually succeeded in persuading the wilder spirits in Calcutta—whose forebears had trembled at the thunder of the hoofs of the Mahratta squadrons—to hold a demonstration in honour of Sivaji ; and it was after his triumphal visit to the capital that the Extremists in Bengal gathered strength and set on foot their reckless propaganda. Yet Mr. Tilak holds a position which would be peculiar in any country. It is not too much to say that he is almost universally disliked and mistrusted, and by most Moderates he is regarded with absolute detestation. The chorus of disapproval of his attitude prior to the Surat assemblage was most marked. Even some of the Mahratta papers condemned him. In his turn, his rancour assailed Moderates and British alike. At times he appears to stand almost alone ; yet his sinister figure repeatedly dominates Indian politics with a persistence which no amount of oppositon can subdue. The defeat of his intrigues at Nagpur, amid a general outburst almost amounting to execration, would have crushed most politicians in a land where polities were less topsy-turvy than in India. But defeat only makes Mr. Tilak more indomitable than ever. He is the most determined man in India. Nothing subdues him. He had resolutely made up his mind to wreck the Congress this year, and he did it, though he was howled at and hooted all through the camps at Surat.

There is no need to recount in great detail here the successive steps by which this unworthy work was accomplished. They have been described with reasonable fulness and accuracy in the newspapers, and I want rather to explain what the consequences of recent events will be. More than a year ago Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Mr. Tilak's disciple and mouthpiece, started a movement in Calcutta to make Mr. Tilak President of the Congress. The scheme grew apace, and gained considerable support. The Bombay and Calcutta Moderates became alarmed, and deftly suppressed the plot by inducing Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji to become President. Even Mr. Tilak knew he had no chance against the veteran Congress leader, who is respected by all parties in India ; but his satellites had their revenge by creating disorder in the private conclaves of the Congress at Calcutta. Very soon after the Calcutta Congress the allies of Mr. Tilak were again at work. Before the other side were aware of what had happened they had secured a majority on the local executive committee at Nagpur, where it was originally intended to hold the Congress. The disgraceful scenes at Nagpur in the last autumn were entirely due to the refusal of the Moderates to support Mr. Tilak's claims. When the Moderate leaders at Bombay intervened, and changed the venue to Surat, they took the wind out of the sails of the Extremists by announcing that Dr. Rash Behari Ghose had been selected as President. Dr. Ghose is a capable Bengali lawyer, who did valuable work on the committee recently appointed to consider the Civil Procedure Code. He is a member of the Viceregal Council, and though he made a rather windy speech against the Seditious Meetings Bill not long ago, he is unquestionably an honest Moderate.

It was thought that at Surat the Congress would be sane and peaceful, but the Moderates were soon undeceived. Realising that he had no chance of becoming President this year, Mr. Tilak astutely started a movement in favour of electing Lala Lajpat Rai, the Punjabi agitator, who on his release from detention at Mandalay has become a popular hero. Lala Lajpat Rai is a man who is not in the same category as Mr. Tilak. Since his release he has been ostentatious in the mildness of his words; strangers have exclaimed in surprise at his suave and modulated utterances; yet he has certainly ranked in the past as an Extremist, and was at one time in close association with Mr. Tilak and his friends. Lala Lajpat Rai, however, had the good sense not to allow Mr. Tilak to use him as a tool in his efforts to wreck the Congress. He absolutely declined to stand for the Presidentship. Nothing daunted, Mr. Tilak declared that he should be nominated whether he consented or not He poured out vilifications of the Moderate leaders in his journal. He urged Extremists all over the country not to yield to Moderate domination. By the time the delegates were converging on Surat it was well-known that there would be violent scenes.

The scenes came swiftly enough. On the opening day it was plain that the Extremists meant mischief. Abandoning Lala Lajpat Rai as hopeless, they announced that they would try to carry Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt as President. Mr. Dutt is a man after Mr. Tilak's own heart, who has achieved much notoriety in the recent troubles. He controls a college at Barisal, in Eastern Bengal; he was the first to organise that preposterous body the "National Volunteers"; he is an active supporter of the boycott; and he has energy and zeal and great organising ability. The storm burst when Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee rose to second the nomination of Dr. Ghose. Mr. Banerjee, has earned the hatred of the Extremists by once more joining hands with the Moderates. He was howled down, and the first day's sitting ended in confusion. That night Mr. Tilak addressed a meeting of Extremists at which he urged them to behave on the morrow in an orderly and constitutional manner. The effrontery of the man is almost incredible; no one knew better what was to happen. When the Congress assembled next morning it was seen that many of the Extremists carried bludgeons. The election of Dr. Ghose was agreed to with acclamation, but almost immediately afterwards the ominous figure of Mr. Tilak appeared upon the platform. The uproar that ensued quickly developed into a free fight. The Congress terminated in the wildest tumult. Mr. Tilak had achieved his purpose, for he had wrecked the gathering.

What were the motives which impelled Mr. Tilak to organise what may seem a senseless carnival of destruction? His opponents say it was mere selfish ambition. They declare that his vanity is enormous, that his head is turned with notoriety, that he is determined that if he cannot control Indian politics no one else shall do so. These explanations, which meet with wide acceptance, do not, in my opinion, explain the phenomenon of Mr. Tilak. I have followed his writings and speeches for a good many years, since the days of his comparative obscurity. Of all the clever intellects on the platform at Surat on December morning—and there were many—Mr. Tilak's mind was probably the most clever and the most subtle. He is not the victim of mere blind selfishness and ambition. He is cool and calculating and farseeing. His purpose is clear to himself; his mind works with logical and invincible precision. To start with, he is a man of many grievances, which he has long brooded over. He believes that in more than one trial he has been the victim of unfair official animus and judicial perversity. He is the uncompromising foe of British control in its present form; how much farther his convictions may go it is not for me to inquire here. He has formed the passionate belief that it is useless to expect any great change in Indian political conditions as a result of the methods adopted by the Moderate Party in the Congress. He would hold no parley with the British. He scorns the ordinary procedure of memorial and representations. He would like to make all Indians Extremists. He saw with fatal clearness that if his gospel was to succeed he must first smash the Moderates. To that end he has devoted himself for years. He worked with unremitting energy. No intrigue was too involved for his purpose. The Moderates played into his hands by perpetually admitting him to their councils, and trying to conciliate him. He took all they gave, but never swerved from his appointed path. He was the only Indian politician with a single purpose, pursuing it with ceaseless vigor, absolutely careless of his methods; and he succeeded in the end.

Mr. Tilak did not care about smashing the Moderates merely in a spirit of vanity or revenge, whatever may be said to the contrary. He hopes to make their position so impossible that a new Extremist Congress will be constructed out of the ruins. On the very night of the great collapse he was openly glorying in his triumph. "They say they will have a Congress of Moderates," he jeered. "If they do, the British will say we are divided among ourselves, and will make that an excuse for taking no notice of us." With unerring instinct he had put his finger on the weak spot of the situation. He has accomplished his first step; his next will be gradually to bind the Extremists into a great and, if possible, dominant organisation. For the next few months we shall be told from time to time that Mr. Tilak is politically extinct. Speeches and articles will be quoted to prove that his fires are quenched. He is no more extinct than Vesuvius. He has a fluctuating but a growing following. All the turbulent spirits in India utter his name with fervour. He is quite capable of becoming reconciled to the Moderates again, but only in pursuit of his own ends. If he were to die or disappear to-morrow the forces he has set in motion would continue to work. He has sown too wide and too deep for the fruits of his labours to wither now. Extremism, or Tilakism, call it what you will, is a living force in India, and its existence is a grave portent and a dangerous menace. Even Mr. Tilak may some day be frightened by his handiwork.

Meanwhile, what of the Moderates? They professed to be intensely relieved that the split had come at last. They at once cheerfully—but probably with some secret sinkings of heart—announced their intention of reorganising the Congress on sounder lines, excluding the Extremists altogether. They issued a manifesto declaring that the goal of their aspirations was "the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire, and the participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members." They further declare that the advance towards this goal was to be by "strict constitutional means," by bringing about a steady reform in the administration, and by fostering national unity. I believe this declaration sincerely represents the present aims of the pricipal Moderate leaders. But those aims were expounded in greater detail in the remarkable Presidential address which Dr. Ghose was not permitted to deliver. Its suppression was unfortunate, because it was in many ways the most eloquent and striking oration ever prepared for a Congress gathering.

There, then, are the two parties as they exist in India to-day. On the one hand we have Mr. Tilak, whose political ideal will not be achieved until the cabin trunk of the last Englishman is carried down the steps of the Ballard Pier, and rejuvenescent Mahrattas garland one another on the Yacht Club lawn while the last mail steamer sails out of Bombay harbour. On the other we have Dr. Ghose, with his prospective Parliament at Calcutta, with the British retained as policemen to keep off marauders, and a benignant and powerless Viceroy nominally presiding over the destinies of India in the name of the King-Emperor. Outside these two parties are sixty million Mahommedans, aud millions of Rajputs and other warlike races, who are not particularly drawn to either party. The simple and easy and popular solution is for the British to have nothing to do with their political aspirations, but to leave the Congress people to stew in their own j[illegible] Let [illegible] But stews have an awkward knack of boiling over if they are left alone for long. The Congress may have been wrecked, but the aspirations that lay behind it still live and seethe. It will not do merely to jeer at its downfall, for it will rise again. What, then, should be the British policy towards it? If the Congress is to open its doors to the Extremists again, if, as the supple Lala Lajpat Rai immediately suggested, a reconciliation is sought, then from the British point of view it is past redemption. But if the Moderates really reconstitute it on constitutional lines, and pursue their aims in a spirit not inconsistent with the maintenance of loyalty, then they should be encouraged and recognised. Their demands may be excessive, but they should not be treated with contumely. They need support, and they should have it. They should receive at least a sympathetic hearing. If they do not, they will soon be effaced, and in a very few years India will become one vast Extremist camp. We may depend upon it that the Extremists will steadily increase in numbers in any case. The existence of a strong Moderate Party will, however, check the movement, and perhaps keep it within safe bounds. To disregard both parties, to treat them with equal contempt, will be simply to hasten the advent of trouble in India. Here I must leave this very serious problem, fraught with grave consequences to the Empire. Mere repression will not solve it, and to treat it with ridicule because its principal factors seem to have made themselves ridiculous is simply to evade an issue certain to grow in intensity. It is really a struggle between the forces of autocracy and constitutionalism in India, and should be so regarded.

HOPES AND FEARS FOR INDIAN INDUSTRY.

By Mr. P. Wattell.

INDIA as she stands at present is mainly an agricultural country depending for most of her wants on foreign countries exporting the cheaper raw produce and getting back in return the dearer and the more highly finished product. The barest necessaries of life—food, perhaps, excepted—have to be met with by imported articles and there has consequently been an influx of foreign wares which have ousted out the indigenous industries. This state of things is not at all desirable inasmuch as it means the general impoverishment of the whole country and speaks very badly for the want of enterprise and self-reliance among its citizens. A country which possesses any amount of capital, labour and land—understood in the economic sense—and which is therefore placed by Nature amid conditions not unfavourable to production should certainly have overleapt itself and have been by this time the industrial centre of the world. But as we find in books on Political Economy the productive capability of a community is more or less affected by its industrial structure, [illegible] if this is weak the agents of production do not contri[illegible] its productive capability. This might seem to be [illegible] reasons why India has no prestige in modern industrialism. Her leaders actuated by a sense of shame and patriotism have been crying hoarse and bringing the situation home to the public who were all the while passing lives of misery and sweet content. The drain on India's finances caused by a wholesale importation of foreign goods was set forth in the most eloquent and heart-stirring terms, and the cause of *the Swadeshi movement* as it is called was picturesquely depicted to arouse the people from their apathetic dullness.

All these appeals to sentiment fell on deaf ears and the masses developed a mistrust and hatred for their so-called leaders whose practice in most cases gave the lie to their deeds and thus the industrial standing of the country remained where it was. The clouds were darkening and the sunshine which was delayed so long was to come from a quarter most obstinate in its consumption of foreign wares and which had been given over by others as gone down in the scale of practical work. But, unfortunately for the country, the light that shone and the radiance that was shed were chequered by the accompaniment of other evil influences which have tended to hamper its universal acceptation at the present time. The light is taking effect, but the radiance thereof is neither fully appreciated nor taken due advantage of. The evil associations are counteracting the purity and wholesomeness of the sparks forced from Nature. But for the associations of the Partition of Bengal, this agency of regeneration would have commanded the highest respect from the most mild-minded and lukewarm of Indians as well as Anglo-Indians. Therefore, whatever success or failure lies in the way of Indian industries is ascribable to the attitude of the Indians themselves towards their salvation; whether or not they are prepared to accept it and work patiently and energetically till the long-cherished industrial millenium is attained.

India is more of a continent than a country; she possesses every raw material required for the satisfaction of her wants; if she takes to developing her own resources she will outdistance her rivals who have to look for the raw products to countries other than their own. This [illegible] save her much of the cost incurred in the finished [illegible] double freight charges on imported articles would [illegible] with—and the country would be self-sufficing [illegible] purposes. This is not to be accomplished [illegible] Open competition with old established centres of [illegible] easy task and patronage by the people of their [illegible] is absolutely necessary. This spirit of patronage, though [illegible] very recent birth, bids fair to succeed in the long run, and [illegible] Swadeshi workers might then see their dreams realised. But at present the question is bristling with difficulties and dangers for an eminent success to be within easy reach.

The industrial revival would set free a large number of the population from agriculture and thus prevent them from spelling famine in bad seasons. The exports being stopped, the production of the raw material and agriculture would both go on hand in hand prosperously. Some dream of turning India wholly into an industrial, (as opposed to an agricultural) country, but here I think they are going too far in the wrong direction and taking unguarded leaps in the dark which would surely end in crippling and maiming them. The prospect of India's turning a manufacturing country and like England depending on other countries for food is neither desirable nor realizable. It would bring along with it many deplorable consequences. However, let her first count upon the demand of her own country and then think of feeding others.

India possesses another great advantage over other countries. 87 per cent of the population being absorbed in agriculture the wants of life are few and easily satisfied. Labour is cheap and therefore the cost of production would not be dear to the employers. A labourer in England gets 3*s.* or 4*s.* a day while India employs labourers at about ¼th or ⅕th the cost. Though the cost of production is not necessarily governed by the wages that are paid, yet a difference handicapping others by so large an amount cannot fail to have its due effect. It is argued that the output of work by an English operative is seven times as large as that of an Indian workman but it must be borne in mind that the industrial evolution of England is not of recent growth, while India is still in the baptismal font. She has no name in the world of industry. The introduction of up-to-date methods of production, the a[illegible]ance with each little piece of machinery, the importanc[illegible] differentiation and integration of functions so largely [illegible] of the twentieth century are yet to be taught to Ind[illegible] [illegible]nnot hope to assimilate and utilise all that has [illegible] century, if not more, for England to rise to [illegible]ial supremacy. 'Open sesame' may be a good [illegible]'s shibboleth, but it will never open the gates of [illegible]ial development and throw open all the blessings of paradise before India's sons. Work, honest and patient, will have to be done on modern lines and methods and then the fruition might be looked for. The output of work by an Indian labourer will rise accordingly and the cost of labour will then be found to be cheap relatively to other countries. As was said before, the question whether India would develop her industries and claim to a rank in commercial countries is mainly to be answered by the Indians themselves. The Swadeshi torch that all at once got into a blaze and penetrated many of the homes in India was a sufficient evidence of its pressing need and Swadeshi enterprises with Swadeshi capital were at once brought into being. No less than fifty joint-stock companies and factories with capital exceeding

Rs. 20,000 each have been started in the year 1905-6 alone in various parts of India. Whether these prove successes or failures is largely dependent on the undertakers themselves. Whether they have got sufficient patriotism to carry them to success or whether they can lose sight of their own self for the sake of the nation is soon to be evidenced by the outturn of their work. Let us watch them with interest and pleasure.

The demand for captains of industry created by the Swadeshi movement is further turning the minds of educated Indians from general to technical education and the exigency of the moment is being urged more and more strongly on the Government. This has provided—or better still, created—a fresh channel into which the energy of Indian youths may run. So long there was a large number of unemployed graduates who deemed it a disgrace to their *high education* to betake themselves to industry and thus an ever-growing discontent was spreading over the country for fresh sources of employment. But now, ideas and things are changing fast as it seems, and the tide of discontent and trouble is somewhat stemmed by the impetus given to Indian industries. [illegible]al education is still in a backward state and many obstacles to the success of Indian industries would b[illegible] the want of up-to-date technical knowledge wh[illegible]lify them from holding their own against for[illegible] Instead of students being sent to England, [illegible] America which in this country means a great de[illegible] trouble, technical institutions must be started h[illegible]on testified to this need by the opening of the Agricultural College at Pusa. Unfortunately there are not ten such colleges existing throughout the whole length and breadth of the Indian Empire while Berlin alone furnishes at least 30 colleges conducted on more expensive lines and equipped with better requisites than the one recently started. This would be a profitable investment and would repay any sum spent therein.

How would Indian industry be developed is a problem which comes in next for solution. How with all the technical knowledge and experience gained from foreign travel and education would Indians be able to command the Indian market seeing that foreign wares sell at cheaper rates than those made here? The best solution seems to be a policy of protection by the Government. Every country is not fit for Free Trad Nascent industries need the fostering care of the State: pr tection is necessary for their development. The point could b made clear by reverting to history and showing how Englan the greatest commercial power, has risen so high.

During the times of the commonwealth the Dutch were t masters of the world's trade and occupied a position whi England holds now. Cromwell felt the situation and forthwi the Navigation Act was passed which prohibited the import tion of foreign articles in any but English ships commanded an English master. It gave great impetus to English tra with foreign nations and stimulated her manufactures. Th policy remained in force during the eighteenth century and En lish manufactures and commerce went on prospering. Bount were liberally bestowed for the encouragment of indigenous dustries. In 1700 the use of India-manufactured goods was pr hibited by the imposition of a penalty of £5 for the consum and £20 for the seller of such goods. In 1722 bounties we granted, amounting to 3*s.* o[illegible]e export of every pound of silk 4*s.* on silk mixed with gold [illegible] and 1*s.* on silk stocking England continued to ad[illegible]pulously to the principle protection down to the [illegible] nineteenth century whe the increasing pressure [illegible]ion upon the soil led t the repeal of the Corn [illegible]e adoption of a policy Free Trade. It was o[illegible] industries had reached position of defiance ag[illegible]ompetition that a policy o Free Trade was declare to [illegible]he country. The questio is still being pressed to [illegible] by Mr. Chamberlain and h party. All this is a suff[illegible] of the fact that India i her present condition badl[illegible]protection by the Govern ment. But the Indian Gov[illegible]annot, for reasons whic we need not mention here, a[illegible] policy. The next best solution, though not so effec[illegible]tection by the people. Let them look to them[illegible] not if Manchester o Lancashire goods flood the India[illegible]. If there is sufficien will-power and enterprise among the [illegible] themselves, what need they protection by the Government.

Coming to the second part, *i. e.*, the obstacles beset[illegible] progress of Indian industries, the first and foremost that engages our attention is the want of confidence and co-operation among the people and their leaders. This has been due to various causes, but only two of them fall under our enquiry—(1) want of business-ability ; (2) want of self-sacrifice.

With regard to the first, it may be enough to state that it will not be allowed to exist unremedied for a long time and less efficient businessmen shall have to make room for more efficient ones. Rising nations can never rest satisfied with abilities of the lowest order, so long as there are better substitutes to be found they will not rust in idleness. It would be to the advantage of both the business and the community that the presiding genius is of the choicest and the rarest kind.

With regard to the second, which produces even more undesirable results, we may say that unless this lesson is fully compounded with their words and deeds, better would it be for them not to sow more mischief and mistrust among themselves, but let them go to the root of the matter and impart a sound moral education to elevate the character of the class. There is no need for mincing matters and attributing the failures of many Indian firms to other acci[illegible]l causes.

A great outcry is s[illegible] raised in the Press that Indian capital is shy and d[illegible]me out of the iron-box for fear it be liberally indul[illegible] those gentlemen shut their eyes to the fact t[illegible] confidence is at the basis of it all. If the le[illegible]al sympathy with the Indian cause—I do not m[illegible]e should be no exceptions—there is enough ca[illegible] meet her wants.

The second obstacle w[illegible] the inability to meet the extensive demand crea[illegible]vival, seeing that the confidence of the public is[illegible]g quickly, and therefore the required capital may [illegible]rthcoming. This is not a light objection which ma[illegible]ensed with easily but one which should attract th[illegible] every truly patriotic-minded Indian. The only [illegible]t seems to come when the public is fully roused t[illegible] needs and more efficient methods of productio[illegible] materials are introduced. If Indians join and h[illegible]r a time, the supply and demand levels will [illegible] another.

[illegible] obstacle is raised by the want of sufficient information about indigenous articles. The art of advertising is practically unknown here, lists of the goods are never sent to the people all over the country, travelling agents are not kep to increase the sale of goods. Things are much cheaper in on part than in another, and sometimes even are never brought the front because they are so little known abroad. To remo this grit in the oil a central bureau of information should established which would provide the sellers, the buyers, a producers with the best information requisite for their materi well-being.

A fourth obstacle would arise in ousting foreign artic from the Indian market in order to obtain a monopoly thereof.

The Swadeshi spirit and the vows that have accompanie it may serve to further the cause, but still the question mu rest on an economic foothold. The educated community ma carry out its zeal for home-made articles, but it forms after a only a microscopic minority as compared with the rest of Indi Only 3 per cent. belong to this category. The greater and t more important demand will come from the remaining 97 p cent. of the population which will never value sentiment understand it as thoroughl [illegible] the educated community do It will care to buy only in [illegible] pest market heedless of t place where it is made. [illegible] ically speaking, to a po man money has the great [illegible] this [illegible] utility and in the case the Indian ryot it is sti [illegible] its [illegible] a difference of a p means to him a great [illegible] in order to make t revival a phenomenal s [illegible] patriots look to this a bear in mind that the [illegible] as cheap, as plentifu and their supply as co [illegible] which they drive fro the market.

In the end, what cou [illegible] encouraging to them tha the words of Miss Margaret [illegible] (Sister Nivedita):

> The clear sight that shows us [illegible] e, and the strong love of o own people, the helpless, the little [illegible] motherland, that is to ma every blow tell, these and these are [illegible] ions that we want. Havi these, we cannot fail. And we shall [illegible] all the forces of the fut are [illegible] to stay, to grow, to dr back for ever in modern India, the tid [illegible] nd despair.

OPPORTUNITY IN INDIA AND AMERICA.

BY MR. SAINT NIHAL SING.

THE Americans are an essentially industrial and commercial people. Perhaps in course of time they may be able to encourage the fine arts more than they do at present. Perhaps in time to come they may prosecute inquiry into the higher realms of thought more than they do now. At this moment, however, the energies of the average man in the United States are employed in getting a living or striving to accumulate a competence. In America there is practically no liesured class. The aristocratic idler if not absolutely unknown is more of a curiosity to the people than anything else. The Americans do not dissociate life from work of some kind. One of the very first questions people in America are apt to ask concerning a new-comer is: "What does he do?"

The American theory, it appears, is that all wealth, advancement, strength and [illegible]ment in a national sense ultimately rest on labor. [illegible] must work or he will starve. If he does not work himself [illegible] else works or has worked to support him. One of [illegible]mon arguments that one hears in America is—[illegible] and various industrial, developing and comme[illegible] alone, we lay up the surplus called national [illegible]

According to Ralph [illegible]on, the seer of New England, America is bu[illegible] for opportunity. The Americans speak of the[illegible] "the peerless, unrivaled, unapproached and [illegible]ble land of promise and plenty." America seems [illegible]curely upon the work of its wage-earners. Workin[illegible] in India would merit scant respect, probably be s[illegible]ized, in America have equal social privileges with [illegible]ged in the so-called genteel or learned professions. [illegible] is no caste in the United States,—only, the excl[illegible] extent. Honest w[illegible] that land. [illegible] some trade or profession, to acquire business or commerci training, to become an expert or a specialist in some line work, to be able to apply scientific and exact knowledge some particular of life, seems to be the educational ideal of Americans. Moreover, the people of the United States aim discard all prejudices and endeavour to engage themselve occupations which pay them best. In genteel professi like stenography and clerking, women hire themselves cheaper wages and consequently have taken the places of m The men, therefore, find it more profitable to work with han

In India it is different. To start with, there is the p judice engendered by caste. This hampers sons follow professions other than those in which their fathers are empl ed. It is also responsible for people everlastingly drudgi in occupations in which they started in their life. In additi to this the women of India still have to be emancipated a are not engaged in gainful occupations. Facilities for techni and commercial education are absent in India. All th combined produce in the he[illegible] educated Indians a predil tion for clerical work at ab[illegible] wages.

Opportunities and c[illegible] in America are such t poverty, instead of pinch[illegible] this [illegible] and limiting the ris generation, proves an i[illegible] its [illegible] larging and ennobli their minds and setti[illegible] is computed that mo than 80 per cent. of th[illegible] in America come fro the village and the fa[illegible] 0 per cent. of the posse sors of palaces in the U[illegible] were conceived in pover and brought up in p[illegible] it. It is no exaggerat to say that the wealth [illegible] ment to-day is under control of men raised on far[illegible] in mechanics' cottage men who as boys were, so t[illegible] without opportunities a if born in India under the [illegible] umstances, would ha gone without education and [illegible] o rise in the wor The men who made [illegible] e United States dur [illegible] not worth a dol [illegible] ave estimated t [illegible] tates Sen

Pontr[illegible] early [illegible] course, [illegible] s, along [illegible] parts in th[illegible] the fact remained that the Home was the s[illegible] influence: *direct*, for the influence of Home, [illegible] the strongest influence and often the influence t[illegible] tional destiny as much as individual character.

There is one historical fact that must be borne in mind wh discussing ancient Hindu customs. The Aryans who came to Ind to the inestimable training they secured while painfully passing through the University of Hard Knocks.

In the light of these facts, it appears significant that the American continent was discovered by a man who was the son of a poor weaver and a weaver himself.

American boys do not have to refer to encyclopædias and books of biography in order to derive inspiration manfully to struggle during moments of dismal darkness and depression—during the long, grinding years while they were qualifying themselves. The present rising generation of America merely has to look around and see scores of people who began their lives in cottages and now dwell in castles. The most successful men around them began their careers in shirt-sleeves with grimy, callous hands. Take, for instance, E. H. Harriman. To-day he is described as the ruling figure in New York finance. He is spoken of as the greatest railroad magnate in the world. He left home at the age of fourteen in order to earn his own living and contribute towards the maintenance of his parents, who were too poor to permit the boy to continue his studies at school.

Henry C. Frick, know [illegible] over as one of America's leading captains of indu[illegible] saw the light of day in a laborer's hut in Pittsb[illegible]ania. He served as an apprentice and a journ[illegible]rks and owes his present position at the hea[illegible]eatest steel combines in the world to the dete[illegible] which he battled with poverty and want during [illegible]

James J. Hill, who i[illegible]gnate second to none, and whose financial oper[illegible]itic, was born in a farm house in Wellington Cou[illegible] Canada, and started out as a brakeman on the Ca[illegible]fic Railroad.

Who is not familia[illegible]ame of John D. Rockefeller, the head of the greates[illegible] world, reputed to be America's billionaire? He [illegible]s a poor boy.

Andrew Carnegie, [illegible] all the world over, an[illegible] steel concern in P[illegible] narrow circu[illegible]

[illegible] looming large in the press [illegible]tions began during the Mahomedan period, [illegible]ugh to give them a rigidity that now resists the [illegible] them off. The Indian woman is slowly given the [illegible]ts of education, and has ceased to a great extent to be regarded as a chattel which her parents can sell at their pleasure and on their terms. But though the initial stage has been reached, and the first

In addition to the living examples of such notable characters, who through dauntless struggle and perseverance rose from grim poverty to luxurious affluence, the American boy is taught in his class room that American history glows with the achievements of self-made men.

The names of at least three presidents of the United States can be mentioned, who were born in log cabins and eventually resided in the White House while holding the highest office in the land. Abraham Lincoln, U. S. Grant and James A. Garfield were born and reared in privation and penury.

A very amusing story is related of Daniel Webster, who is said to have been the most versatile statesman America has produced. He began life as a poor farm boy. When a student a friend sent him a recipe for polishing his shoes. His reply: "But my boots need other doctoring; they admit water and even gravel stones," is characteristic of the poverty through which he waded to high rank. Henry Clay, who is reckoned to have been one of the greatest orators of America, was born in a family too indigent to send him to school. Stephen Girard, who was known in his day [illegible] second richest man in the States, came to America as [illegible] boy on board a sailing ship. When he landed in Ne[illegible] he owned in the world was six cents.

"American boys do not [illegible] es coming to give them a lift," writes one of the ab[illegible] ited States. "When I was younger I used to think it w[illegible] ing for a young man to be pretty well provided for fi[illegible] ntensely sorry for myself and other lads who were handica[illegible] When we could not take our share in the enjoyments of [illegible] wn race, I felt that if ever I had a son of my own I would wish [illegible] all this, to see him take the pleasures of youth as his right, t[illegible] to the handsome and the generous thing without being hampered [illegible] ns of economy.

"I am too much of a coward, I [illegible] to submit my son to such discipline as was mine during tho[illegible] rs. But even with all the wisdom that is supposed to come to u[illegible] would far rather to-day see him tread the same path of [illegible] ears ago and now by so many

back for ever in modern India, the tid[illegible] automobile, for instance.

[illegible] days of boyhood with a [illegible] hen the truth is [illegible] uld have degree, then I would without hesitation, but as between the two and that is where most of us find ourselves, I believe the most fortunate boy in the world to-day is he who is the son of poor parents who have just means enough to keep him above actual and mortifying want. But nothing more. Before that boy stands the most magnificent opportunity that life holds; the making of himself into a man with the greatest boon and the most priceless stimulant that can be placed behind any boy: the boon of poverty."

Such appears to be the ideal of America to-day. Newspapers and magazines throughout the length and breadth of the land are preaching the gospel of success through work. Scarcely a page of the current literature but chronicles the life of some successful man or woman who rose from poverty to riches through personal effort. Head-lines such as these attract attention: "An Example of Success: Character Sketch of the Three-Dollar-a-Week boy who Rose to Membership in the Firm he started with, and now retires on a competency to serve his city of whose Sinking Fund Board he is a valued trustee: and to enjoy the fruits of his ability."

Here are some thoughts which such successful men broadcast throughout the country [illegible]eans of the daily papers, to inspire and uplift the ris[illegible]ion :

"Hard work should be the [illegible]pel of the United States.

"Siezing opportunity lead[illegible]

"Labour intelligently a[illegible]unity,"

"The three-dollar-a-w[illegible]ore opportunity than the three dollar boy had when I start[illegible]ago."

"Specialised business c[illegible]perts."

"Development of count[illegible]ishes a field for workers of the present."

"Excepting a few migh[illegible]siness men have about the same average ability."

"One's first duty is to his [illegible]o his community."

"I am vain enough to b[illegible]he moral courage to retire from business when I have enoug[illegible]position.

"Generally speaking, [illegible]s opportunity for every one."

In addition to t[illegible]e newspapers and magazines extant in the United [illegible] nothing but constantly and consistently har[illegible] life, their only cl[illegible] pump amb[illegible] thus render the most vital help possible to his contemporaries and coming generations.

The work of these people is directed against that section of the American press in which statements appear to the effect that America is no longer the "continent of opportunity." It is alleged that the trusts and combines have made it impossible for young people to get on in the world. Times are said to have changed and it is argued that opportunities such as Abraham Lincoln and James A. Garfield enjoyed exist no longer. Some even go to the length of asserting that if men like Grant and Garfield, who went to the White House from log cabins, were to be born at the present moment they would find it impossible to achieve the success they then did.

Thoughtful analysis of the situation, however, shows the speciousness of such conclusions. America continues to be the continent of opportunity. The resources of the United States barely have been touched. Wealth untold is awaiting the young men with wits and enterprise.

There still is a large [illegible] of America whose rich resources practically are u[illegible] The American West to-day is thinly populat[illegible] abundant mineral, and material resources are da[illegible] hainloads of prospectors. For centuries to come [illegible] icultural and pastoral lands, fruit regions, for[illegible] estates will continue to enrich those who have b[illegible]

There is something [illegible] something in the vibrations of the country th[illegible] for making the people "hustle" and work lik[illegible] but above all it is the fascinating lure of the un[illegible] sources that charms the prospectors and furnishes [illegible] perennial inspiration, impelling them to put forth int[illegible] assiduous effort. The newness of the country coupl[illegible] belief that hard work of the right kind cannot fail to [illegible] most profitable results mainly is responsible for what [illegible] day is.

[illegible] le are imbued with a [illegible] treat money merely [illegible] of sowing the [illegible] Yankee, Herein lies an essential difference between India and America. To-day we in Hindustan are learning that our country, though probably the most ancient country in the world, is not without its opportunities. Of late years we have come to realize that there are wonderful possibilities for the development of mineral, and other resources of India. What we need is the intelligent prospector imbued with the American spirit of "risking it," of taking a chance at it. More than anything else, the Indian needs the impulse to labour and especially the incentive to train himself to a degree of skill to make his labour marketable. The people of Hindustan need an inspiration to thrust out into the world. They have to quit being consumers of goods manufactured by other peoples and to so organize their resources, both of persons and property, as to become producers of all they need. So long as

> Surely, surely slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore
> Than labor in the deep mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar;
> O rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wander more,

is the ideal of India, there is v[illegible]tle hope of our regeneration.

The ideal of an ave[illegible] of [illegible]can is—get-rich-in-a-hurry. To orientals this may a[illegible]d and materialistic. The American is eternally i[illegible] flurry. This is responsible for countless n[illegible] of f[illegible]ns every year. This in its turn is a painful p[illegible]ns pay for their successful methods. Again, [illegible] Let [illegible]ires in America leave their fortunes to nincom[illegible]ot in crazy luxury and lead lives of diabolica[illegible]ality. This also is a serious drawback. But [illegible] the [illegible] America yet are mere pioneers. They are youn[illegible] grow older they will grow in experience and learn [illegible] the best results possible, eliminating those as far [illegible] or other drawbacks.

It ought to be re[illegible]position. [illegible]owever, that America's prosperity is due to its yo[illegible] education. It is true that America lacks the background of m[illegible]me part in [illegible]and great deeds achieved ages ago. But it should n[illegible] occurred [illegible] is without a glorious h[illegible]ctions began during the Mahomedan period, That is what co[illegible]ough to give them a rigidity that now resists the the impet[illegible] them off. The Indian woman is slowly given the [illegible] of education, and has ceased to a great extent to be regarded as a chattel which her parents can sell at their pleasure and on their terms. But though the initial stage has been reached, and the first

INDIAN ASPIRATIONS UNDER BRITISH RULE.

By Mr. M. S. Damodaran Nair.

AT a time when so much has been said, both by the more advanced of the Indians themselves and by the well-known Anglo-Indian friends of the country, on the desirability of allowing the Indians a full share in the administration of their country, it will not be out of place to discuss here the aims and aspirations of the Indians after half a century of British rule. The India of to-day is not the India it was during the early days of the East India Company. It has advanced by leaps and bounds in material prosperity and progress since the establishment of Indian Universities and the famous despatch of the Court of Directors on Indian education. Trained in the schools of Mill and Bentham, deeply imbibed with the precepts of Hampden and Burke, the Indian of to-day is a far different being from his compatriots of the Eighteenth Century. Western Education has completely revolutioned his social theories and theories of primitive governments handed down from father to son and it has struck at [illegible] roots of his national institutions. Most of all, Western Educati[illegible] ed a sentiment of national unity and has drawn toge[illegible] ds of common brotherhood peoples who had in pre-B[illegible] been in a state of internecine warfare. A Sikh now no l[illegible] atred upon a Mohammedan, a Mohammedan no [illegible] throat of a Hindu and above all the various nat[illegible] e alive to their common interests and know tha[illegible] ends they should stand together at any cost, sa[illegible] rejudice at the altar of a common country. Thi[illegible] g of the Indian intellect would not have been poss[illegible] of an Akbar or an Aurangzeb, and what master minds [illegible] ried in vain to accomplish, *i. e.* to reconcile the various n[illegible] of India, half a century of British rule has accomplished [illegible] proclaiming to the world the high attainments and civilis[illegible] es of the British nation; and as the *Pioneer* recently obse[illegible] s is a reflection of *Pax Britannica* and a result on which [illegible] must congratulate ourselves [illegible] mentary on the civilising [illegible] that Indians are unfit [illegible] country. Persons [illegible] dian mind cope with the rising aspirations of the Indian people. That the Government of India is already perfect can hardly be contended, but all that the educated Indian says is that the Government of India have failed to adapt themselves to the changed times. No man can deny the existence in India of deep discontentment consequent on the shutting out of Indians from offices of trust and honour and no man can deny that if this state of things is allowed to go on serious consequences will be the result. Talented and educated Indians being denied opportunities of using their abilities in the service of their country, fill the ranks of the already vast discontented. Says Sir Charles Dilke in his *Greater Britain* :—

> Our plan of shutting out Natives from all share in the Government of their country, makes our rule unpopular. That such men as Sir Madhava Rao and Salar Jung should be unable to find employment in our service is one of the standing reproaches of our rule. All that is necessary is that we should concede by appointing, year by year, more natives to high posts, and that by holding the Civil Service Examination in India as well as in England, we should place the competent native youths on an equal footing with the English.

The Indians have more than once agitated on the desirability of holding the Civil Service Examination simultaneously both in India and in England and it [illegible]ne of their just grievances that in spite of the Res[illegible] of the House of Commons on the subject no notice has y[illegible]en of it. Not only are the appointments in the Civil S[illegible]ted, but also the Military Service is completely shu[illegible] Indians. It must always be a standing reproach[illegible]sh Government that the martial spirits of the Sik[illegible]ns and the Maharattas,—the descendants of the he[illegible] battle-fields, the proud inheritors of the noble t[illegible]eroes of Chillianwalla, Paniput and Talikota, are a[illegible]alised under a Government who are in duty bo[illegible] subjects to co-operate with them to repel foreign f[illegible]lishness to say that by a liberal policy of admitting th[illegible]dia in the Military Service, the Government will be co[illegible]hat in an[illegible]er Great Indian Mutiny, for the present conditions of [illegible]position. [illegible]astly divergent from those of the Mutiny days. The [illegible]ian knows that his destiny is irrevocably bound up w[illegible]gland and that for weal or woe he must at any cost st[illegible] However much he may rail against the Governm[illegible]tions, in his heart [illegible]ernment for he[illegible] his bl[illegible] in the defence of his country, are the chief ambitions of the educated Indian. Are these just ambitions encouraged by the Government? The policy of distrust and suspicion pursued by the Government in the matter of admitting the Indians to the Military Service, every true friend of the country must admit, is not at all deserved by them. To quote again Sir Charles Dilke :—

> Supported by the native population we can maintain ourselves in India against the world, unsupported by it our rule is morally indefensible and therefore not long to be retained by force of arms.

The Judicial Service is the only department of the Government freely open to the Indians, but even then the higher grades of that service are practically closed against them. An occasional judgeship of the High Court and a few District judgeships are all that they can aspire to, although they have shown at the bar that their talent is on a par with that of their European brethren. The conditions of India, its manners, customs and usages are so vastly divergent from those of the other countries of the world, that however much erudite European judges may be, they cannot but fail to clearly understand the curious local usages and customs. To quote Sir H. Strachey :—

> In a civilised populous country like India justice can be well-dispensed only through the natives themsel[illegible]

To participate with the Go[illegible] in the dispensation of law and justice is another ambiti[illegible]ed India.

It is one of the chief c[illegible] the Indians that frequent famines in India are due t[illegible] revenue policy of the Government and to the s[illegible] the higher European officers of the local cond[illegible]end for information on native officers who are [illegible]en of inferior abilities. Although the Governm[illegible]ee with the soundness of this contention, it is hig[illegible]gs an experimental measure at least Indians of high [illegible] known abilities should be liberally associated with the [illegible] Administration.

The chief complaint of ed[illegible]ans—a complaint supported by Administrators grown grey [illegible]ce of the country—is that there is no direct representati[illegible] Indian element on the Executive Councils of the Im[illegible]rovincial Governments and the Secretary of State. Non[illegible]diced persons who are [illegible]estion the wisdom of this [illegible] their staunchest sup[illegible] with the real needs [illegible] centralisa-

Through such representatives the people can voice their grievances and the representatives can be expected to serve as links between the rulers and the ruled. Persons of high attainments to serve on the Council of the Government are not wanting in India; half a century of British rule has turned out men who are in everyway fit to serve the Government with honour to themselves and glory to the Empire. Who will say that men of the type of Gokhale, Pherozshah Mehta, Dadabhoi Naoroji, Gurudas Bannerjee and Romesh Dutt, are unqualified for seats on the Council of the Empire?

The complaints against the constitution of our Legislative Councils are as old as the hills and have more than once been ventilated and so need not be elaborately discussed here. Every man will admit that these Councils are bound to be useless appendages of the Government, so long as the representatives of the people are condemned to mere speech making The representatives of the people, every man knows, cannot divide the Councils on financial matters, they cannot move even a little finger in protest against the wanton waste of money in concerns they have not the least interest whatever. All that the Indian asks is that he should have voice in the financial affairs of his country. The ever increasing military expenditure is greatly deplored by him and it is his aspiration to make his voice heard in the settlement of the military expenditure of India.

To conclude, under the present system of Government the Indian talent is destined to be wasted and both in the interests of the Indians and their rulers, it behoves the English nation to take into their serious consideration the desirability of revising the Government of India in the light of modern [illegible] and of adapting it to the needs and requirements of t[illegible] of [illegible]day. The Indians have more than once demonstrated the[illegible] the British Throne, they had fought side by side with the [illegible]rs of Britain in the far away land of the Celestials and th[illegible] [illegible]er of the Dark Continents, to uphold the honour and [illegible] of [illegible] England is the mother of free nations wherever [illegible]erstood it in some [illegible]urts the breeze, free institutions flourish; and i[illegible] to ask for a seat in her councils and to participa[illegible] Let [illegible] Even Russia has taken her subjects of the East [illegible] [illegible]nd it is not too much to ask progressive Englan[illegible] of the whole [illegible]ts in India into her confidence. The Indians ha[illegible]heme of va[illegible] [illegible]hat under the lead of Britain they can accompli[illegible] [illegible]verything, and the day cannot be far distant when [illegible] [illegible]erously feel the justice of Indian aspirations and all [illegible] [illegible]red races in India representative Government. W[illegible] [illegible] day comes, it must be the proudest day for England; [illegible] [illegible]ould she have accomplished her great mission in India, [illegible] nat in and [illegible]self to lead the vanguard of human civilization and pro[illegible]position. [illegible]drawn tighter the bonds that hold together the fragme[illegible] education [illegible]er Britain. As for ourselves, we already see the day wh[illegible] [illegible]words of a great departed Anglo-Indian, "the keen intelle[illegible] [illegible]me part in [illegible]ast welded with the sturdy self-reliance of the West res[illegible] occurred [illegible] Empire indeed, far beyond the [illegible]ctions began during the Mahomedan period, beyond the wildest hop[illegible] and foe without." [illegible]ugh to give them a rigidity that now resists the [illegible] them off. The Indian woman is slowly given the [illegible] of education, and has ceased to a great extent to be regarded as a chattel which her parents can sell at their pleasure and on their terms. But though the initial stage has been reached, and the first

WOMAN'S CAUSE IN INDIA.

BY MR. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, B. A.

THIS is not a new question. It is neither new by itself, nor new to this country. Ever since the beginning of history, and even long before it, woman's cause has been fought out in the countries of the East and the West. The question has all along been the same in principle, but its aspects might have changed with the change of civilisation. When the Greek heroes fought and died outside the walls of Troy, or when Rama with his quadruped-companions crossed the ocean and killed Ravana, there lay behind all the fever of passion and the intensity of strife, the question, left unsolved by Homer and by Valmiki, whether woman's function in life can be said to have been fulfilled when she becomes the pretty toy or the easy prey of the stronger man; whether Liberty and Justice, which men prize so highly, are after all to be denied to woman, who, though physically the weaker man, is often intellectually and spiritually his equal.

Modern circumstances have changed the aspect of the question. The old domination and the old [illegible] main as before: but the serfdom, much attenuated, is [illegible] conditions: the domination, much softened, is in new me[illegible] new conditions and methods may in their turn pass aw[illegible] this [illegible]tion may drag on in this country so long as women [illegible] ll opportunity of arguing it out for themselves. [illegible] note that in countries where such opportunites [illegible] ave justified the course and endeavoured success[illegible] ir destiny.

Before discussing [illegible] of Indian women, it is necessary to inquire what w[illegible] hat they originally occupied and what was the principle [illegible] d their position in the family. It may here be pointed out th[illegible] n, according to Hindu ideas, had only a domestic existence [illegible] al life, of the kind we have to-day or of the kind that existed i[illegible] Greece or early Rome, was unknown in ancient India. O[illegible] there were exceptions; and there were women who ruled stat[illegible] with or instead of their husba[illegible] e shaping of history. But [illegible] here of woman's *direct*[illegible] of woman, is always [illegible] oulds the na-came as invaders, and the enemies of the aborigines. It has been said that the progress of the Aryan invasion can be clearly marked out in the Vedas. It may with equal truth be said that the fact of the Aryan supremacy and the constant strife with neighbours of the Aryans, can be traced in their original division into castes, in their rules regulating the family, and in their customs, many of which have outlived the time and the circumstances of their origin. A stranger in a strange land, surrounded on all sides by enemies whom he evidently could not value lightly, the Aryan found that his security and the safety of the tribe lay in the numbers of able-bodied males that could fight for him, and the necessity of having issue, especially of male issue, led to the promulgation of rules, enjoining infant-marriage and widow-marriage and all sorts of marriages, and recognising all sorts of sons—there were at least 14 kinds—and giving to the males a predominance over the other sex in the matter of inheritance and succession. The causes which made infant-marriage a necessity, also brought about widow-marriage. Both were enjoined by the *shastras* and supported by texts. Both were also justified by the robustness of primitive health in early times. We in our wisdom, however, have retained the one, which may tend to diminish the vitality of the community, and have dispensed with the ot[illegible] will have no such result. While the preservation of the [illegible] matter for gratification, the perpetuation of the system [illegible] deplored.

This historical fact [illegible] light things which otherwise excite surprise or conte[illegible] how rules and ordinances, whose observance is cla[illegible] divine results, originated in human conditions, [illegible]ntirely passed away. It explains further that wo[illegible] were not slaves, but the helpmates of their husban[illegible] male offspring conferred on the wife and the mothe[illegible]tus in the tribe itself; and that when this need passs[illegible]er conditions rendered the position of women inferior to that of man.

Historians are agreed that in ancient India women occupied a far better and more important position. Her restrictions were not known or not so severe. Female education was also encouraged. Women are also said to have taken some part in public affairs. Instances of women administrators have also occurred in later times in the Mahratta dynasties. Their restrictions began during the Mahomedan period, which lasted long enough to give them a rigidity that now resists the attempt to break them off. The Indian woman is slowly given the benefits of education, and has ceased to a great extent to be regarded as a chattel which her parents can sell at their pleasure and on their terms. But though the initial stage has been reached, and the first steps have been taken, it is her further emancipation that is more difficult to accomplish and that will provoke sterner opposition and keener animosities.

The claim of spirituality is sometimes advanced on behalf of the Indian woman. This claim, if true, is true only of the higher castes. The Sudra woman is not spiritual, but superstitious. The Brahman woman may be spiritual, but is also superstitious. No enlightened spirituality is possible where there is no education, no freedom of action and motion, no active experience of outside life. Cribbed, cabined, and confined, the Indian woman, Brahman or Sudra, is in many instances a hopeless intellectual cripple. Her blind faith may lead to spiritualism, but it certainly engenders superstition.

Every Hindu woman passes, or has the prospect of passing, through four phases of life,—maidenhood, wifehood, motherhood, and widowhood. The first may be said to be the most happy, as the last is the most unhappy period of a woman's life. The wife and the mother have both their respective joys and sorrows, and perhaps their mutual wranglings and altercations.

The Hindu girl does not enjoy to a great extent the advantages of education. Her domestic life does not offer any compensating benefits either. She begins to feel th[illegible] of life too early. Generally no systematic training is giv[illegible]rich girl is as much a spoilt child as her poorer sister is a[illegible] weakling.

The Hindu husband wh[illegible] towards his wife, is not always much to blame; fo[illegible]uch homes is not the love that sustains in youth and [illegible] the vicissitudes of life. Incapable of any breadth [illegible]indu wife is often a drag on the wheel, and her s[illegible] she carries out with a scrupulous rigour, very sto[illegible] from her husband. It is not always possible to feel adm[illegible] cause of admiration exists; or to feel sympathy, when it [illegible]served by any lofty and enlightened intelligence; or to feel love, unless there are qualities that bind the two souls in eternal bonds.

The Hindu wife usually becomes a mother before seventeen and sometimes a widow even earlier. These are the two disastrous results of early marriages. I do not know if any other country in the world has such a la[illegible]mber of child-widows, or such an inhuman principle of marriage, or such a blind following of that principle, as the country which is said to have occupied in days of yore a prominent place in civilisation. Nor are partisans wanting to uphold what they grandiloquently call the ideals of our glorious forefathers. It is, however, a hopeful sign of the times that the intelligent section of the community are growing alive to the danger of this pernicious custom; and although it may not be possible for early marriages to disappear in the near future, a reasonable hope may be entertained of their gradual extinction.

But it is the lot of the Hindu widow, especially of the Brahman widow, that is the saddest and must claim just consideration from right-minded men. The question of widow-marriage has no immediate significance to those classes that are not Brahman or do not affect to belong to a superior caste. Its prohibition is entirely foreign to Dravidian ideas. The author of the Madras Census Report, 1891, says, "we shall probably not be far wrong, if we assume that the marriage of widows is permitted and practised by about 60 per cent. of the total population." But, although only a portion of the population are prohibited from widow-marriage, the question is one that has a bearing upon the status of women in general, and the principle that underlies the whole scheme of the emancipation of women. Is woman in the same position for marriage purposes as man? What is the principle that underlies Hindu marriages in general? If a man can remarry, why not also a woman?

It is often said that among Hindus marriage is a sacrament, not a contract. I really wish that all marriages, not merely Hindu marriages, were sacraments, in which, however, the consenting mind will always be present on both sides. [illegible] is certainly a sacred institution. To some it may [illegible] tification of the senses. But to those who can compreh[illegible] import, it secures the intellectual companionship [illegible] inspiration through sorrow and suffering of beings [illegible] re linked with their own, and imparts to life that [illegible] happiness, without which wealth is but gilded mise[illegible] see how mutual consent by parties who can unde[illegible]aning of matrimony and who must face by themselv[illegible]es, will take it out of the doctrine of sacrament. Th[illegible] materially gain in value when it is followed by people who [illegible]stand what it means. But the Hindu sacrament is often converted into an engine of tyranny. It binds parties to whom marriage has no better significance than child's play; and debars those to whom matrimony should be a welcome relief from the degradation enforced on the plea of custom, and the dependence enjoined by reason of their sex. Lastly, the sacrament is arranged by persons, who no doubt are interested in the welfare of the parties, but who very often are guided by horoscopic conclusions on the one hand, or worldly considerations on the other. Such sacraments are sacred only in name.

This theory of a religious sacrament is certainly of Brahmanical origin. Earlier customs do not refer to it. The usages of those that have not been under Brahmanical influence are not explained by it.

The older commentators, who laid down expresss texts authorising widow-marriage, did not think of it. Modern ideas of marriage in actual life are positively against it. Whence, then, is this theory? Why this forced misery of those who are meant to be our partners in life? Orthodoxy may prefer to keep silent over these matters; or may argue thus: there is a spiritual ideal of marriage, at any rate, among those classes where widow-marriages are prohibited; this spiritual ideal is felt by those parents and guardians who settle the marriage, and the parties will do well to uphold the ideal, for it is a good ideal and one set up by the parents with best intentions; being a good ideal, it ought not to be allowed to degenerate by the encouragement of the gratification of physical desire by remarriage. Now it is an undoubted fact that this spiritual ideal is not felt by those who marry or are married. Worldly prospects and the preservation of social prestige are the most important considerations on the part of the parents. Of those who are joined in wedlock, both parties are generally too young to understand it at first, and one of them at least is too ignorant to realise it afterwards. It is a sad thing that what takes place in actual life is summarily shut out of the discussion by the apologists of this iniquitous custom. Ideals are no doubt good; but unless they are generally kept in view, and unle[illegible]ence people in their actions, it is useless, and perhaps mi[illegible] set them up in argument for screening the injustice [illegible]se, when the best purpose they can serve is just the [illegible] this [illegible]is injustice and its purification in accordance w[illegible] Again, remarriage need not be merely the grati[illegible] desires. If so, it is difficult to see how ma[illegible] allow remarriage on the part of men is any bet[illegible]arties to a marriage, it i sometimes not even the [illegible] physical desires. Wealth i to some—nay, to many—[illegible]cion than beauty. Religiou considerations play no part [illegible]uch marriages; nor are they of an value in the Hindu system of matrimony except in the tightening of the netherstone of tyranny and injustice to the neck of the wretche girl, who, gaily decked in jewels, was led to the altar amidst joy an rejoicing.

It is argued, with a great amount of truth, that the discontinu ance of infant-marriages will greatly reduce the number of Hind widows. As for the rest, the mission of ministering angels unto pai may not appeal as strongly as it should. There is also a new Socia Reform Movement "on national lines," "on lines of least resistance." More harm than good, it is said, is done by an uncompromising atti tude; and the best way of reform is not a sweeping away of evils, bu a gradual remedying of the affected parts with dexterity and tact, i a spirit of "conciliatory co-ordination." On the other hand, it may be urged that compromise in matters of such import means a flexibility of right convictions which is worse than the insistence of wrong ones. Between these two conflicting views, there exists all the difference between Evolution and Revolution. Evolution is a continuous need; Revolution is an occasional necessity. Evolution is generally on lines of least resistance; Revolution on lines of greatest resistance. The former denotes the steady growth of health, the latter is the remedy of a disease. It is noteworthy that no revolution in history has ever been too early: on the contrary, it is the last resort of nature to overcome a malignant malady. Now, it is sometimes not always a question of fact, on which there may be a reasonable difference of opinion, whether society at a certain stage is sound in health or afflicted with disease; whether the operation of evolution is slow or obstructed by external causes, or whether all that is required is patient forbearance towards what will gradually cure itself. The answer often takes the shape of certain re-arrangements in society, which are more eloquent than studied and learned discussions.

Mention may be made of Mahomedan women and the Moslem ideal of marriage. Here marriage [illegible] contract, dissoluble for sufficient reasons and in cert[illegible] no prohibition against widow-marriage exists. The whole [illegible]ational and elastic. But the great disadvantage of the M[illegible]en is their close seclusion. The physical deteriorati[illegible]quent degeneration of the race are results that [illegible]t strike every intelligent observer. It is, howev[illegible] that there is now a full recognition of these evils [illegible]omedan gentlemen; and when the true Moslem sp[illegible] may hope it is or soon will be, no good reform wil[illegible]

It would be too much for the [illegible] of this paper to dwell at great length upon a scheme for the emancipation of Indian women. I may, however, point out some important directions in which it should proceed—first, we must by a practical policy of liberal education increase the sum of their knowledge and train their young minds in rational thinking which will in the end prove the strongest weapon of reform. Secondly, we must remove all unnecessary restrictions upon their freedom of action and movement, which at present stunt their intellect. Thirdly, with regard to matrimony, we must allow them freedom of choice, discountenance infant-marriages, and permit widow-marriages. Horoscopes cannot agree so well as minds; and matrimony by mutual consent is not less sacred than matrimony with the aid of horoscopes. Nothing is so significant of moral cowardice as the craving to peep into the hidden future of life; or so indicative of mental degeneracy as the morbid desire to regulate real life solely by the deductions of occult knowledge.

I may be told that there are some communities in which infant-marriages do not obtain and widow-marriages are permitted, that are not any the better for the absence of the evils which I decry so strongly. If I had decried them alone or held up their eradication as the panacea of *all* evils, this argument would be relevant. But I condemn not so much the several evils as the system of which they form a part. No doubt the evils and the system had once a beneficent purpose to fulfil; but, having fulfilled that purpose, it must be admitted that they have now outlived the conditions which justify their existence, and that much as they deserve our gratitude, they are not entitled to our perpetual adherence. Again, in the communities referred to, the absence of these evils does not render the work of reform unnecessary altogether. If they are backward, despite the absence of these evils, it means, not that these evils are trifling, but that the need for reform is in their case only the greater. I admire the Spartan woman, who on the eve of battle, when presenting her son with his shield, said, "With it, my son, or upon it." But one should not, on that account, [illegible]e a return to Spartan conditions, if even that were possible. F[illegible]an woman was but a part or a product of the Spartan [illegible]r life was moulded, as her limbs were shaped, by Sparta[illegible] Beyond Sparta and outsid the Spartan system, the [illegible]uld be an impossibility. But nevertheless the Spar[illegible] the best system, though the Spartan woman was ty[illegible] and self-sacrifice. When we criticise present evils [illegible]efore, lose sight of the prevalent system of socie[illegible] in fact either the cause or the condition of the e[illegible]

But in spite of conse[illegible]n and obstruction, a process of chang is taking place among Indian women. Slow as is the change, it i none the less sure and steady. Already the old ideas are discarde in practice: already the new ones are taking their place. The moder Indian woman is not so near in thought and in spirit to Sita and othe mythological personages, as she is often said to be. In the unswe ving fidelity to her husband, in her utter abhorrence of the compan of a stranger, in her heroic patience through trial and suffering, in he simplicity and generosity of heart, in all these virtues that make up th greatness and glory of earthly life, Sita is verily a daughter, not of me but of angels. Shakespeare's women are more realistic; and of the Desdemona is perhaps nearest to the Indian type. But Sitas ar Desdemonas do not abound in real life or in Indian life; and th Indian woman is as much removed from these as from the Weste woman. But the Western woman cannot be said to be the ideal of the Eastern, though the present condition of the former will be of great educative value in the process of improving the lot of Indian women.

To some my views may appear too radical. My purpose has been to speak, not about the pleasures of Indian homes, but about the disabilities of Indian women; not in justification of the present situation, but on behalf of progress. Conservatism has a good purpose to fulfil if it is only to check the rashness of over-zealous radicals; but it ceases to perform these functions when it is converted into a weapon of retrogression. I do not anticipate any sudden and glorious results as soon as Indian women are emancipated; but I do anticipate that when once the barriers against improvement are removed, and women are allowed the same liberties, and given the same opportunities, as men, they will contribute no less than man to the moral and mental development of the race. But though advocating women's cause, it is not easy to sympathise with women who are disordered, to borrow Mr. Frederic Harrison's phrase, by the "fever of a public mission." Let woman take any profession she likes, but let her never cease to be herself; let her follow any pursuits to which she is adapted by nature, but [illegible] not forget the duties she owes to herself as wife, as mother [illegible] all, as woman. Nature never meant us to be ungodly; and [illegible], by the innate weakness of humanity or the preponder[illegible] evil influences, ever be tempted to be unnatural or u[illegible] bear in mind with Ruskin "that exactly in propor[illegible] of things in the scale of being, is the complete[illegible] to the laws that are set over them. Gravitation [illegible] constantly obeyed by a grain of dust than it is by the su[illegible] the ocean falls and flows under influences which the lake and r[illegible] not recognise."

A GREAT MALABAR POET.

By Mr. C. D. Nayar.

To all lovers of Malayalam literature the news that steps are being taken under the lead of rich and influential men in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin to perpetuate the memory of Tuncheth Eluthachan, the greatest of Malabar poets, cannot but be gratifying. The present Malayalam literature owes its origin to this great poet. On the development of Malayalam since Tuncheth Eluthachan's time Dr. Burnell has the following remarks in his *South Indian Palæography*:—"The Sanskrit literature was, after this, no longer a secret, and there was perhaps no part of South India where it was more studied by people of many castes during the eighteenth century." It is the purpose of this article to give a short account of the life and work of this great poet who may trully be called "the father of Malayalam literature."

The migration of Nayars [illegible] ad of Kerala is supposed to have taken place in the [illegible] of the third century B. C., and anything like a liter[illegible] the Malayalam language was begun only from the [illegible] *Kollam* Era. There is no definite information [illegible] st Malayalam work; but it is generally belie[illegible] y work of very poor abilities called *Ramacha*[illegible] in the fifth century after the Kollam era. [illegible] this work is attributed to one of the Maharajahs [illegible] avancore. A few quotations from it are given in the *Kerala Bhashacharitram*, and they show that the whole thing has been composed in uncouth Malayalam. It was in the same period, when certain men of mediocre abilities had begun to take a pleasure in literary works, that attempts were made by fits and starts to bring out several productions treating about Medicine and Astronomy. After the lapse of nearly a century—I believe in the beginning of the sixth century M. E.,—one Kannacha Pannikar began to exploit Sanskrit literature with some diligence, and produced certain literary works, chief among them being *Ramayanam*, *Bharatam* and *Bhaghavatgita*. These works of which only manuscript copies are preserved here and there, are written in a clear and forcible style but the language is only an admixture of Tamil and Malayalam. This Kannacha Pannikar, who is erroneously supposed to be a contemporary of Thunchath Eluthachan, was born at Niranum in Thiruvella Taluk in Travancore territory. His name is remembered as one who made the first attempt to bring to light the hidden treasure of the rich Sanskrit literature which was being kept a dead secret from the Sudras and the lower classes by the Nambudiri Brahmans. The next man to appear on the scene of labours was a Nambudirī Brahmin of North Malabar called Cherusseri Nambudiri who sang in simple language and in what may be called "lullaby metre," the story of the life and doings of Sri-Krishna. This work is entitled *Krishnagatha* (one of the text-books for the B. A., degree examination) and is written in highly figurative language with all the charms of simplicity and eloquence. This is a favourite work with the women of Malayali society and might almost be considered a substantial contribution to Malayalam literature. The Nambudiri Brahmans, as has been already observed, had the monopoly of learning and it was only with great unwillingness that the [illegible] of admission to a favoured few among the high caste Su[illegible] forbidden field of sacred literature. The study of [illegible]jects such as Astrology, Astronomy and Archit[illegible]ertheless, not so much objected to by them. T[illegible]romotion of elementary education among the lo[illegible] during this period that Tuncheth Eluthachan, t[illegible] article, who was destined to create almost a[illegible] history of Malayalam literature, was born. Mr. Logan in [illegible]labar Manual* says:—"It was no less than a revelation when in the seventeenth century one Tuncheth Eluthachan, a man of the Sudra (Nayar) caste, boldly made an alphabet—the existing Malayalam one—derived chiefly from Grantha—the Sanskrit alphabet of the Tamils, which permitted of the free use of Sanskrit in writing—and boldly set to work to render the chief Sanskrit works into Malayalam."

Tuncheth Eluthachan, or Tunjan as he was familiarly known among the Nambudiri Brahmans, belonged to the oil-monger (Chaklay) caste. He was born in a village called Trikkandiyur, near Bettuthputhiangadi (about four miles from the Tirur Railway Station) in Ponani Taluq in British Malabar. He was the illegitimate son of a cultured Nambudiri Brahman who, as a loving father, did his best to initiate him into every species of knowledge, sacred as well as secular. Young Tunjan, it i said, showed early signs of intellectual brilliance, and this seem to have roused the jealousy of the Nambudiri Brahmans. It i said that the Brahmans administered to the child some poisonou drug which clouded his intelligence and deranged his mind. I was, we are told, as an antidote against the stupifying effec of this drug that the frequent use of toddy was prescribed. It i therefore, that Ellis in a dissertation on the Malayalam languag makes mention of the fact that "he (Tuncheth Elutnachan) alwa composed while under the immediate influence of intoxication

It would appear that Ramanujan Eluthachan (for such wa his full name) while very young, when he could hardly unde stand even the language, found fault with the Nambudiris arou him in their recitation of the Vedas, and it was on this accou that the Nambudiris were so very unrelenting in their persec tion of Tunjan, who, nothing daunted, resolved to benefit h countrymen by opening up [illegible] them the hidden treasures Sanskrit literature. In his [illegible] year he established a sma school (*Pallikootam*) for [illegible] urchins of the village an there he taught the elem[illegible] his [illegible] in language and religion Out of evil cometh [illegible] its [illegible] budiri Brahmans go exasperated with him [illegible] reas[illegible] read their sacred book including the Vedas, a[illegible] [illegible] his turn became onl all the more assiduous [illegible] form a literature for th Malayalam language. [illegible] accounts of his havin paid these jealous Bra[illegible] in the same coin whenever the tried to indulge in taunts and gibes at him. His low birth wa often made the butt-end of much criticism. The followin incident will show how the Nambudiris tried to sneer youn Eluthachan. Once he was questioned how much oil his mill coul yeild a day (this is a direct hint against his having been a oil-monger by caste whose duty is not to teach but to sell oil), an his smashing reply was that his mill turned out *four* and *si* at a time, by which he only meant that he was fully conversan with the four Vedas and the six Shastras and that he wa prepared to allow his brethren free access to the mysteries of th same. He was a man of untiring energy and his bent towar the improvement of the Malayalam language only increased wi years. He travelled much in Tamil countries with the object of making himself better acquainted with the Tamil literature, and when he returned to his native country he was in full possession of the materials necessary to build up a structure for the Malayalam language. Thereafter he set himself to work with an earnestness of purpose which well nigh staggered his opponents, and was in a few years able to create a literature calculated to enlighten the minds and elevate the moral tone of his countrymen, by presenting to them the highest ideals of Duty and Religion. Melpathur Narayana Bhattathiri, the renowned author of that beautiful Sanskrit work called *Narayiniyam*, was one of Eluthachan's best friends and it was through him that Eluthachan made the acquaintance of Chempagachery, Raja of Ampalapuzha, in Travancore, and it was while remaining at Ampalapuzha that our poet brought out his translation of *Adhyatma Ramayanam*. The Rajah, who was a great patron of learning, was very much pleased with this work and allowed him an annuity. The Raja of Cochin, the Zamorin of Calicut, and other royal chieftains were also among the patrons of Eluthachan, but in none of his works has he mentioned the names of any of these exce[illegible]s *Sivapurana*, wherein he mentions the name of the j[illegible] of Manakode family who was largely helping him [illegible] [illegible]ing his travels.

We have no precis[illegible]o the date of the poet's birth and death, and fi[illegible]ails in our possession we can only gather that h[illegible]ld age and died in his own house at Bettuthpi[illegible] satisfation of having done his duty. The [illegible]ong his chief works, (1) *Sivapuranam*, (2) *Devimaha*[illegible] *Irupathi-nalu-vritham*, (4) *Ramayanam*, (5) *Bharatam*, (6) *Bhagavatham*, (7) *Chintharatnam*, (8) *Kerala Natakam*. Of these the *Ramayanam*, *Bharatam* and *Bhagavatham* form the nucleus of the present Malayalam literature which our poet has been able to so successfully build up amidst great difficulties: and it is therefore that we say that it cannot but be gratifying to every true lover of Malayalam literature to know that most of the living Malayalam scholars, including His Highness Kerala Varma Valis Coil Tampuran, C. S. I., of Travancore and others, have banded themselves together to successfully push forward the movement which has been started to perpetuate the memory of this great poet on account of whose influence and success it was, "that Malayalam, as a written language, obtained its most recent development."

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH.

By a Professor of History.

THE Historians' History of the World. A Comprehensiv Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations Recorded by the Great Writers of all Ages. Edited by Henr Smith Williams, LL.D., with the collaboration of many specialis Twenty-five volumes. (*The Times*, 1907, 7*s*. 6*d*. per volun Special prices for India.)

> Histories make men wise and in proportion as their minds are influen by a natural love of their country, so they will always feel a desire to bec more and more familiar with the most authentic account of its origin, prog towards civilisation, and the circumstances which have led to its present imp ance or degradation in the scale of nations. To trace with accuracy gradual advancement of a country from primitive barbarianism, darkness idolatory, to a state of refinement in the arts, learning and religion is grateful task of the historian.—*Bacon.*

Whosoever conceived the idea of *the Historians' History the World*—which we have called the book of the month, b which it were better to call the book of the year—must congratulated on his bold enterprise, as also must be the Edit in-chief and his collaborators [illegible] the excellent manner in whi they have performed th[illegible] task entrusted to the Writing a history of th[illegible] no easy task, and the fa that there does not exis[illegible] its [illegible] language any worl history except that of [illegible] which was published i the time of George [illegible] sufficient testimon of the difficulty of the [illegible] we find that the twent five large volumes o[illegible] *History*, which conta 17,000 pages of print [illegible] relate the history of the worl from the earliest dawn of civilisation in Egypt and Babylon upto the year 1907 and that too in the very words of all t standard historians of the past, the mind simply staggers the vastness of the work involved, and we must again repe that the fullest measure of credit is due to those who ha joined hands in producing and giving to the world this mon mental work.

There is but one way to the Present—the Past; and a stu of history teaches us how to fashion the future to our purpos by letting us know what was and what is. A knowled of history is necessary to all practical men, to the *statesma* for without historical experience he would not know when a how may political changes be best introduced without revolutionising the government; to the *social reformer* who must possess a commprehensive knowledge of previous things in order to be able to decide what reforms are best suited to the present circumstances; in short to all men for as has been said "it makes men wise. It maketh a young man to be old, without either wrinkles or grey hairs, privileging him with the experience of age without either the infirmities or inconveniences thereof." The study of history, again, is the study of literature—embracing all the works of a nation—and paradoxical as it does appear it is nevertheless true that truth is stranger than fiction, for indeed "there is not a romance of fiction that cannot be outdone by a romance of fact. Indeed, half the romances of the world are but dying echoes of the truth, like those medieval Alexander epics, which pale before the real story of the great Macedonian whose name, after two thousand years, is still a household word throughout the vast regions he once subdued. Novelists may succeed in popularizing history; they cannot improve upon it."

The value and importance of the study of history having been thus recognised it is [illegible] to reconcile why such a comparatively small numb[illegible] study history in the right spirit. The answer m[illegible] found in the fact that many had not the in[illegible] had never realized how interesting and inform[illegible]story can be and who therefore had always c[illegible] dull reading, and that many who had the incli[illegible] possess the means to satisfy their curiosity. Sp[illegible]efore, in general way of the twenty-five volumes, such only as is possible for the ordinary reviewer within the short space at his disposal, we can unhesitatingly say that that the *Historians' History of the World* is, for the general reader, a complete historical library better than he could possibly hope to get together at a much higher cost, and which he can effectively use without any extraordinary or unnecessary tax upon his energies and leisure. There is another merit which the work possesses, and which very much enhances its interest, and this is found in the fact that while it treats the world's history as a compact whole and not as a mere bundle of disconnected episodes, the practice of giving long extracts from original authorities gives a charming variety to the style and enables the reader to drink at the very sources of history without his interest ever flagging. While the *Historians' History* thus primarily appeals to the general reader, its value to the expert or the specialist is no less, for the full and excellent bibliographies that are given in the last volume will guide and direct those who wish to study any particula period of history in greater detail.

The aim of the work is both to instruct and to entertain "to absorb the reader's interest and enchain his attention b the kaleidoscopic story of the world's fortunes, and to wide his outlook and improve his mind by a study of the deep problems of history"—and any one who takes up any volume the *Historians' History* will gladly admit that this aim has be realized.

As to the spirit in which this work has been written, a which to the best of their ability the editor and his collaborato have kept in view, the editor tells us that he has tried maintain a high standard of historical accuracy in the mo critical acceptance of the term, and to retain at the same tin as much as possible of human interest in the broadest and be sense of the words. Per[illegible] any volume at random wi convince the reader that this [illegible] has been maintained. Th work from the system [illegible] its [illegible]ing the history as fa as possible in the word[illegible] historians themselves, necessarily a compilation. [illegible] therefore free from th inequality in respect [illegible]iness of its authori which is inevitable i[illegible] a nature, but on th whole great skill has [illegible] and displayed in weldin together excerpts from the standard historians past and preser Perhaps no better method could be adopted, and the resu achieved are, on the whole, highly creditable.

We have already spoken of the elaborate bibliographi which should specially appeal to the expert or the speciali as they will enable him to study any period or event in great detail. Another valuable feature of the work is that we fi appended to each section of the history a full chronologic summary which gives a brief survey of the period with whi it deals. But what is still more important is that the la or the twenty-fifth volume of the work is devoted to a mo elaborate index giving, besides the usual references to plac and persons mentioned in the work, very valuable collected information on different subjects under proper headings—Art, Architecture, Finance, Manufactures, Labour, Taxation, Status of Women, &c., &c.—and this feature of the work which perhaps for the first time brings together the combined experience of the world on any subject should be of great service to the general and the specialist reader. The index also contains complete lists of Financial Crises, Wars, Battles, Treaties and so forth. And lastly the value of the work is very much enhanced by the numerous illustrations, nearly three thousand, with which the work is embellished. The illustrations are admirable and the pictures of the costumes of the men and women of every age, their arms and armour, household utensils, &c., the diagrams, plans, maps and facsimilies of documents sustain the interest and rivet the attention of the reader in his passage through the several thousand pages of this excellent work.

Exception has rightly been taken in India to several passages in the second volume of the *Historians' History*—dealing with ancient India—which are calculated to wound the feelings of the Hindus. It was no doubt an error of judgment to include such passages, [illegible] [illegible]ough some of the highly objectionable ones have [illegible] [illegible]d, we would suggest that the whole of the sec[illegible] [illegible]ticularly that part of it which deals with Ind[illegible] [illegible]letely revised in collaboration with an Indian [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]rinted and supplied to all purchasers whethe[illegible] [illegible]e India in place of the original second volume.

All said, however, the [illegible] [illegible]*istory* is a monumental work, which all those who have [illegible] [illegible]esire to acquire a scientific and accurate knowledge of the various ideas and tendencies which have influenced the conduct of human kind in the past and to study the eternal progress of things must keep on their bookshelves and carefully read and assimilate.

* * *

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

(A) *The British Occupation of Egypt and its Lessons*

BY DR. ABDULLAH AL-MA'MÚN SUHRAWARDY, M. A., LL. D., BAR.-AT-LAW.

IN spite of the storm and stress of work and worry I have yet undertaken a brief review of the *Secret History of Egypt* partly because of the fascination which its suggestive title possesses for an enquiring mind, partly because of my great admiration for its talented author and partly because of my acquaintance with almost all the actors in this thrilling Egyptian drama from JEMAL-ED-DIN, the Afghan, to MOUSTAFA KAMEL, the Egyptian.

The Secret History of Egypt, the *chef dœuvre* of my valued friend MR. WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT* is an exposition of the character of some of the greatest statesmen that England saw during the last century and also of certain acts that have been perpetrated upon a sectio of humanity in the name of justice and civilisation. MR. BLUNT ha the credit of being the first true Englishman who, holding up the traditions of his country and history has espoused openly, with not a littl sacrifice to himself and to his fair name, the cause of the weak and th oppressed in Egypt that were being crushed beneath the iron heels absolutism and autocracy whet[illegible] [illegible]an or Asiatic. His argumen are all based on authentic off[illegible] [illegible] and on diary notes writte daily during the time that E[illegible] [illegible] its [illegible] through the calamitou years of '81 and '82. It is [illegible] reas[illegible] [illegible] down a brief sketch the life of this great lover [illegible] [illegible] who, though stricke with paralysis and hardly [illegible] [illegible]en, has yet undertake the difficult and danger[illegible] [illegible] yet another blow for th cause of liberty. WILFRI[illegible] [illegible]NT, born on the 17th of Augus 1856, at Petworth House, is [illegible] second son of MR. F. S. BLUNT Crabbet Park and is descended from an old family with strong conservative ideals and traditions. Educated at Stonyhurst, he entere early at the age of 19 the diplomatic service in which he remained f twelve years, marrying in 1869, LADY ANNE NOEL, daughter of the firs LORD OF LOVELACE and grand-daughter of that great champion of libert and freedom, LORD BYRON. At the death of his elder brother, h succeeded to the family estates and retired from the service. From th year 1877 to 1881, he travelled in Egypt, the land he has done so muc for, Syria, Mesopotamia, the heart of Arabia and India. In Arabi he met the redoubtable warrior ABD-EL-KADER (better known as Sheik il-Jesairli) the Emeer *sans peur et sans reproche*, who had defic

---

* Second edition 1907. T. Fisher Unwin, London.

the might of France for sixteen years and who after the French occupation of his country was leading a life of banishment trying to effect practical reforms admidst the "children of the desert." MR. BLUNT'S impressions during his wanderings in Eastern lands are original, unique and interesting, and I take the liberty of quoting what he says about the Indian people, and the British way of administration, when on a visit to LORD LYTTON, whose son and heir was destined to become MR. BLUNT'S son-in-law.

> I am disappointed with India, which seems just as ill-governed as the rest of Asia, only with good intentions instead of bad ones or none at all. There is just the same heavy taxation, bad Government by foreign officials, and waste of money one sees in Turkey, only let us hope the officials are fools instead of knaves. The result is the same and I do not see much difference in making the starving Hindoo pay for a cathedral at Calcutta and taxing Bulgarians for a palace on the Bosphorus. Want eats up these great Empires in their centralised governments and the only way to make them prosper would be to split them up and let the pieces govern themselves. The *natives* as they call them, are a race of slaves, frightened, unhappy, and terribly thin. Though a good conservative and a member of the Carlton Club, I own to being shocked at the Egyptian bondage in which they are held, and my faith in British institutions and the blessings of British rule have received a severe blow. I have been studying the mysteries of Indian finance under the "best masters," Government secretaries, commissioners and the rest, and have come to the conclusion that if we go on *developing* the country at the present rate, the inhabitants will have, sooner or later, to resort to cannibalism for there will be nothing but [illegible] left to eat. I do not clearly understand why we English take their [illegible] these starving Hindoos to make railroads for them which [illegible] turnpike roads and jails and lunatic asylums and [illegible] Bartle Frere and why we insist upon their feeding out of the [illegible] rice immense armies of policemen and magistrates and [illegible] none of these things, and they want their rice very badly, [illegible] looking at their ribs. As to the debt they have been [illegible] would be honester to repudiate it, at least as a debt on *India*. I [illegible] moral obligation Governments acknowledge of taxing people for the [illegible] not the people, have incurred. All public debts, even in self-governing countries are more or less dishonest, but in foreign despotism like India they are a mere swindle.*

MR. BLUNT'S first book came out in 1880 entitled *Love Sonnets of Proteus*. It was received with marked appreciation by every lover of English poetry and LORD LYTTON, writing in November 1881 in the *Nineteenth Century* says, that the publication is quite exceptional inasmuch as it does not follow the beaten grooves of other modern poets whose works he calls "more and more an achievement of form, less and less an achievement of feelings." Later on MR. BLUNT compiled many other books, the most famous of which are the *Future of Islam*, *Satan Absolved* and the *Wind and Whirlwind*, a metrical lament at the loss of Egypt, *Ideas about India, Seven Golden Poems of Arabia, Atrocities of Justice under British Rule in Egypt.*

---

* This letter was addressed from Simla to Henry Brand, M. P., now Lord Hampden.

Before we begin to trace the national movement and its consequent disasters it is meet that we should first describe the state o affairs in Egypt when she was saddled with a dual control, which eventually culminated in the British occupation. Since the days of th conquest of Egypt by the invincible forces of MEHMET ALI, the fellahi had lived as complete nonentities classed among the brutes of tl land: all their feelings, all their sentiments, aspirations and ambition had been stifled by the cruel grip of the conquerors. The Greek an Jewish usurers who supplied the Viceroys of Egypt with money wer given the free run of the country where they lent and extorted wit force and violence sucking away with them not only that broad honest of the peasants which is common in all countries, but the heart-bloo of the entire community. During the reign of Khedive ISMAIL, th rigour was doubled, for the money needed by that extravagant princ was illimitable. He had to build palaces for himself and for h favourites on the best sites overlooking the Nile; he had to conve his unpretentious capital into something imposing and beautiful; had to keep his coffers full to the brim, and for this he forced th fellahs to pay taxes upon taxes until they could pay no more.

The extravagance of the Khedive put him into such difficult pos tions that he was required to [illegible]ing to the JOUBERTT-GOSCHE contract an yearly interest o[illegible] pounds from the Egyptia revenue. It is interesting [illegible] count of these debts an the Berlin Congress inspir[illegible]ARD that Egypt came be governed financially by [illegible] French controllers. S HENRY LAYARD, ambassad[illegible]rte not only had a gre influence at Yildiz Kiosk [illegible] with an intimate knowledg of Eastern affairs. DIS[illegible] Prime Minister, had declare himself a Turcophite and at the [illegible] the Russo-Turkish War of 187 had shown a practical sympathy for ABDUL HAMID and his cou prompted, as we now know, by an imperial design of establish military control over Asiatic Turkey. The Russians were knockin at the gates of Constantinople, the war was on the eve of its finis with disastrous results for Turkey, the young Sultan was complete non-plussed and was only too willing to do anything to get out of th perplexing situation. It was then that the Cyprus convention pr sented by Layard seemed to him veritably a godsend. It promise to frighten away the Russians, it would make his British ally urge treaty, it would give him time to breathe and think, and ABDUL HAM recklessly and with open arms embraced it. The convention was state secret. It was duly signed. The treaty of San Stefano w drawn up, the Russian troops were taken back, the English fleets moved away from the Sea of Marmora and order reigned again. According to the convention, Cyprus was accorded to the British and was also given them at the same time a right to send ambulante English consuls to superintend over the judicial officers in Asiatic Turkey and to see that nothing was done against the English idea of justice and equity. The Islamic world had once believed in these hollow words, but now the fanfaranade is exploded, and they have been disillusionised. This imperial move of Disraeli alienated most of his followers from him who had long disliked his designs on the Turkish Empire, the chief among whom was the Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby, who instantly resigned. At his resignation Disraeli filled the gap by putting in Salisbury, a young and ardent follower of his. At the same time he instanced that a Congress be held at Berlin to consider the fate that should be accorded to European Turkey. It was a very bold enterprise and the apex of Disraeli's diplomacy. On this depended the increment of his prestige or his fall. It was a significant move and most interesting inasmuch as it compromised the fate of Egypt. Disraeli attended by Salisbury as minister plenipotentiary proceeded to Berlin, not caring to leave this affair in other hands. The Powers were also well represented: Russia by Prince Gortsthakoff, Italy by Count Corti, France by M. Waddnigton, and Germany played the host in the person of O[illegible]mark. It seems probable that some of them had got th[illegible] the Cyprus convention and so at the instance of F[illegible] of [illegible]tes had to swear that the Governments which the[illegible] unmanacled by any secret treaty or agreement. [illegible]ers raw as they were in diplomacy swore to the [illegible]de the complicity of their government and anxiousl[illegible] treaty of Cyprus. Sometime after the clauses of this [illegible]ere printed in *the Globe*, through the inadvertency of the [illegible], who not being a responsible [illegible] had sold the news to the [illegible]ess for a good sum. When it [illegible]ed Berlin, France waxed furious. M. Waddington refused to attend the congress until a compromise was come to, and Disraeli was so shocked that he kept to his bed, meaning to escape from the shame, sending instead Salisbury to bear the brunt. At last a conclusion was come to and this immoral diplomacy of two of England's greatest statesmen was one of the causes of the French protectorate over another Muslim country, Tunis. As to Egypt, she was doomed, according to a clause of the compromise, to a dual financial control.

(*a*) That as a compensation to France for England's acquisition of the Cyprus, France should be allowed on the first convenient opportunity and without opposition from England to occupy Tunis.

(*b*) That in the financial arrangements being made in Egypt, France should be *pari passu* with England.

(*c*) That England should recognise in a special manner the old French clai of protecting the Latin Christians in Syria.

In Egypt in the meantime great changes were taking place. ISMAI unchecked by his debts, as long as he had irresponsible ministers t extort and the poor peasants to pay, rode rampant in the country. H tax-gatherers, attended by Greek usurers, forced the poor fellah wi their bastinadoes to mortgage his valuable and hereditary land to th money-lender for less than half its price. After a time came the lon expected crisis. The peasants even on the point of the sword refuse to pay the taxes. They were whipped, flogged, beaten and every kin of cruelty was perpetrated on them, but still they would not pay, fo the simple reason that they could not. They had sons, daughters an wives and they were to be maintained at any cost. Put in suc narrow straits the Khedive had only one alternative to adopt, *viz* borrow more and more. He communicated with DISRAELI saying that h wanted to sell his shares in the Suez canal, compelled by necessity. Th Premier though against Lord Derby immediately instanced the Hou of Rothschild to buy them up for four million sterling. But this mon could not long remain in the hands of the extravagant ISMAIL. Th selling of the Suez Canal shares introduced into Egypt the financi influence of that great Hebrew House that. in the end intrigued wit Disraeli and others to enable [illegible] the Bond-holders to reduce in Egyptian bondage the child [illegible] of the Nile and to effe the downfall of the Land of [illegible]

At this time a new pa [illegible] nce that was to play most important *rôle* in [illegible] a—a party inspired b burning zeal and ardent [illegible] and progress—a nob band of patriots bent on [illegible] on for their country, an what was most importan [illegible] an instant stop to the eve recurring taxation beneath the [illegible] of which the honest backs the patient fellahs were bent to breaking. This body style EGYPTIAN NATIONALIST party was the outcome of the highminded and patriotic ardour of certain persons who had the good of th country at heart. At the outset I shall try to set forth the differen between this party and the PAN-ISLAMIC IDEA, as they have been tim and oft confounded by persons, who claim to be authorities on th subject. The consciousness of a national movement had dawned the fellahins by gradual steps and their only aim was to better the own conditions and that of their country, to safeguard the interests every Egyptian, be he a Copt or a Muslim. PAN-ISLAMISM, which ai at bringing about a Religious Revival and Renaissance amongst t followers of the Faith and dreams of welding together the mot congeries of nations that stretch from the Pillars of Hercules to the Great Wall of China into one vast confraternity, inspired by a single ideal, urged by a single impulse, united by the bond of the Brotherhood of Islam, is as far from the idea of the exponents of EGYPTIAN NATIONALIST as the Land of the Rising Sun is from the Land of the Setting Sun. PAN-ISLAMISM has a much nobler mission to perform. It is not concerned with the affairs of one Muslim state, but with that of the whole Dār-al-Islām. RELIGIOUS PAN-ISLAMISM represents the awakening and intensification of the sense of brotherhood which is now dawning over all classes of Muslims. POLITICAL PAN-ISLAMISM is the Imperialism of Islam. It is a child of progress and enlightenment and its success would spell peace and goodwill for mankind. In its spirit it is somewhat akin to that great movement which the genius and self-sacrifice of the Zionist HERZL has brought into existence, but the Zion of the Pan-Islamist's dream and the Mecca of his vision is not the establishment of a temporal kingdom in the CITY OF PEACE, but to revive the glories and enhance the spiritual power of the CITY OF THE PROPHET. It is either destined to die in its cradle or to blossom forth into a most unexpected adolescence and dazzling splendour. The confusion between Pan-Islamism and Egyptian nationalist movement generally arises in the mind of the reader inasmuch as the propounder of the former was the inspirer of the latter.

SAYYID JEMAL-ED-DIN was [illegible] with original ideas and convictions. Born in Hamad[illegible]ghanistan) in the year 1858, he began studying at [illegible]ools of Bokhara and at the comparative young ag[illegible] a thorough master of the Ahadith, (the sayings [illegible]e Koran together with its commentaries, Musli[illegible]er branches of learning, that make up the ol[illegible]n of an Eastern medreseh. Credit is given to this man, [illegible] his learning and eloquence, but for the original idea by w[illegible] conceived to restore Islam to its [illegible]ine glory, before the light [illegible] civilis[illegible] had been engulfed [illegible] the darkness of ignorance and superstition. He preached that Islam was the soul of radicalism and that it was not opposed to any modern institution inasmuch as the Book was for all times and all ages. Whilst eighteen he went over to India, from there to Mecca to perform his pilgrimage. Become a Haji he was prompted to whisper his enlightened views to all parts of the Muslim world and therefore betook himself to Constantinople to begin his campaign of reforms and regeneration. Even there he became the idol of the young *Softas*, or the theological students, but his teachings put him at variance with the Sheikh-al-Islam who saw in him a terrible antagonist to his conception of Islam and her virtues. Expelled from Constantinople he sought an asylum in Egypt, where soon his eloquent speeches, brilliant conversations, versatile genius, commanding presence and magnetic personality gathered round him a band of scholars, belonging to that great centre of Islamic culture and learning the University of Al-Azhar. In 1879 when Tewfik ascended the throne on the abdication of his father JEMAL-ED-DIN at the instigation of Mr. Vivian, the English Consul General, was expelled from Egypt to find a haven of refuge elsewhere. Thrown on his legs again, he travelled back to the East preaching wit vehemence the doctrine of a catholic form of Sunnite Islam. H journeyed throughout the whole of Persia, and passing through A ghanistan pierced into India. During his stay there he was put unde surveillance as long as the Egyptian wars lasted, as he was rightl supposed to have inspired them. From India he went over to Londo and thence to Paris and there started a paper for free distributio throughout the East, under the title of *El-Urwatu'l-wuthka* (Le Lien Indissoluble) denouncing in the strongest terms the English idea of justice and the British administration in India. Under the shadow of the Caliph he spent the last days of his life in Constantinople where he died o carbuncle. Shortly before his death at the instance of the Persia Ambassador he was summoned before the Sultan to exonerate himsel from the charge of instigating the assassination of Nasereddin Shah o Persia. To the teachings of this great man, laden as they are with th true spirit of liberalism, may fai[illegible]ttributed the rise of the spirit o constitutionalism in Persia, A[illegible]urkey and elsewhere. JEMAL-ED-DIN left many admirers an[illegible] to bewail his early death the most famous of whom [illegible] the Sudan, the mos cultured and enlightened, [illegible]fti of Egypt. SHEIKH MUHAMMAD ABDU, a ma[illegible]fications, though no interred in his last resting p[illegible] the pages of Egyptia history that is not likely to [illegible] long as a grateful nation in existence. At the [illegible] SHEIKH JEMAL-ED-DIN MUHAMMAD ABDU was a p[illegible]or of the [illegible] University, and was o[illegible] the first followers o[illegible]at leader of Pan-[illegible]thought. Durin[illegible] whole of the romance of the Egyptian imbroglio that culminated the bombardment of Alexandria, we cannot find any person less disinterested or more earnest for the welfare of his country. He we into exile with JEMAL-ED-DIN, and in Paris acted as his Secretary. Whe the Egyptian wars were things of the past, SHEIKH MUHAMMAD AB through his learning and strength of character extorted the admiratio even of his foes and gained the high post under the British Governme of the Grand Mufti of Egypt, in which position he delivered his ce brated liberal *fatwas* on many questions affecting the social a economic prosperity of the Mussalmans. At the present moment dictum about the legality of investment of money in saving banks has a special significance inasmuch as it shows the wide gulf that separates the conservative Muslims of India from their advanced co-religionist in Egypt and Turkey. Even LORD CROMER who naturally was not very well disposed towards the late Sheikh bestows an encomium on him in the pages of the Egyptian Blue Book for 1905, dealing with the life and work of MUHAMMAD ABDU. I shall quote from it, as this again brings into bold relief my assertion that the old Sheikh commanded the respect of even his opponents:—

> During the course of the past year a remarkable figure was removed by death from the Egyptian political and social world. I refer to Sheikh Mohammed Abdu. I wish to record the strong opinion which I hold, that his premature death was a great loss to Egypt.
>
> When I arrived in Cairo in 1883, Sheikh Mohamed Abdu was under a cloud. He had been one of the leading spirits of the Arabi movement. The late Khedive, with characteristic good nature pardoned him. He was eventually appointed to be a Judge of the Native tribunals. He did his Judicial work well and honestly. In 1899, he was promoted to the important position of Mufti. In that capacity his profound knowledge of Islamic law, and his liberal and enlightened views, rendered his advice and co-operation of the utmost value. I may mention as an instance of his beneficial action, the attitude which he adopted when the question was raised whether Moslems could legitimately invest their money in the savings bank. Sheikh Mohamed Abdu was able to suggest a plan which enabled them to do so without any violation of the laws of Islam.
>
> The type of Islamic reform to which Sheikh Mohamed Abdu belonged is somewhat better known in India [illegible] Egypt. In the former country this type was at one time notably rep[illegible] well-known and highly respected Syed Ahmad, who some thir[illegible] of [illegible] a college at Aligarh. Broadly speaking it may be said tha[illegible] those who represent this special phase of Islamic thought [illegible] customs of Islam, not only without in any degree shak[illegible] Moslem faith but also without abandoning those pra[illegible] more or less religious basis. Their task is one of great [illegible] constantly exposed to criticism sometimes sincere, but not [illegible] interested motives—that their action is not merely illegal but als[illegible]

SHEIKH MUHAMMAD ABDU[illegible] prayer e[illegible]ing the feelings of [illegible] soul compelled on [illegible] eve of its depa[illegible] from this Vale of [illegible]rs, to acknowledge, after a life-long struggle, [illegible]isappointment and defeats, recalls, in its touching simplicity and tragic pathos, the last [illegible]ds of the Martyr of C[illegible] It was printed in many an Egyptian paper and was first rendered into English in the *Light of the World*, an Islamic journal which I used to edit whilst in Europe. I think it would not be out of place to reproduce it here in full :

I care not what has been said of Muhammad Abdu by those who
gather together and exult over his death,
But our faith I have endeavoured to reform,
Fearing its ruin by those who wear turbans.
Every living being has hopes that he longs to accomplish.
If I die all my hopes will come to naught.
O God, if thou wilt, heal me or take me to the other world.

Bless the world of Islam and grant it good guidance, an enlightened guide, the
path of righteousness in the darkness of night.

So far Egyptian nationalism had only existed in theory and was generated and confined within the four walls of the University of A Azhar. After the abdication of Ismail Pasha from the viceroyalty o Egypt, when his son Tewfik summarily expelled JEMAL-ED-DIN Afghan another man came on the Egyptian stage, who has since been regarde as the guiding spirit of the movement and caring not for what th world thought of him worked in the interests of his country wit great self-sacrifice and disinterestedness. I allude to that hoar patriot the *el-Wah l'hero de peuple*, AHMAD ARABI PASHA, wh being denounced a traitor as affording an excuse for British interven tion, has long remained in the neighbouring isle of Ceylon as a stat prisoner, and who has recently been permitted to return to hi motherland. ARABI was emphatically a fellah and a leader of tha downtrodden community. Born in 1840 at Hariyeh, near Tagazil Ahmad Arabi was sent like his father to prosecute his studies at t Al-Azhars. After reading there for two years with liberal-mind professors and associating with young men of advanced views, Ara conceived his first idea of the emancipation of the fellahin while stil a boy. Soon after he joined the army, and at the age of seventee was made a lieutenant, at eighteen a captain, at nineteen a colone and at twenty a lieutenant-c[illegible] He was the favourite A. D. C of SAID PASHA, the father of [illegible] ved to have about him th stout and honest fellahin of [illegible] e only Khedive who had sympathy with the predomi[illegible] he Egyptian population After the death of Said wh[illegible] the throne, Arabi lost the favour that he had ac[illegible] influence among hi countrymen, as he was not [illegible] very well-read and cu tured man. For the first [illegible] his appearance on t political arena wh[illegible] r his o[illegible] pation in the fellah mo ment he, together [illegible] friend wa[illegible] ed into the office of C Rifky, the war-mi[illegible], with the in[illegible] of be[illegible] done away w A friend of his, Fehmy Bey, came with his forces at the right moment and put the mercenary Circassian tr[illegible] that had been ginally called to effect the capture of the two revolutionists. Osma Rifky was forced to retire as the Khedive was not particularly attache to him, and his place was occupied by Mahmud Sami, a Circassia with constitutional ideas, who belonged to the ministry of whic Cherif Pasha was the head. Riaz Pasha, the Premier, was especiall antagonistic to Arabi, whom he wanted to entangle in some affray an get him in his power, but these were always made known to him by t sympathetic attitude of Mahmud Sami, the constitutional war-ministe

They had come to an agreement that, if there was any apprehension of a grave danger of which the revolutionists could not be apprised, Mahmud would resign, thus putting Arabi and his party on their guard. At last Sami one day unexpectedly retired, and Riaz ordered Arabi and his friends to be expelled from the capital. The time was ripe, the Khedive was perhaps in the know, his connivance at least was depended on and a great military demonstration was effected. Tewfik, jealous of Riaz, owing to certain differences, had most probably a hand in it just as his father was the factor in the demonstration of the military students that brought about the downfall of Nubar. However, a letter was sent by the Nationalists to the Khedive telling him that the people wanted to meet him at his official residence, the Abdin Palace, and present to him their grievances. At *Asar* the palace was occupied on three sides by the soldiers and the citizens when the Khedive entered with the diplomatic corps and his ministry.

"And when the Khedive arrived at Abdin," says Arabi, "he found us occupying the square, the artillery and cavalry being before the main entrance. And already when I arrived before the Palace, I had sent to Ali Fehmi * who I had heard was there and had spoken with him and he had withdrawn his men from the Palace and they and Ali Fehmi stood with us. And the Khedive entered by the back door on the east side, and presently he came out to us with his generals and aides-de-camp, but I did not see Colvin with him though he may have been there. And the Khedive called on me to dismount and I dismounted. And he called on me to put up my sword and I put up my sword, but the officers, my friend, approached with me to prev[illegible] about fifty in number and some of them placed themselves b[illegible] of [illegible]e Palace. And when I had delivered my message and made [illegible] the Khedive he said, "I am Khedive of the country and s[illegible] Let [illegible]na Khedeyivi el-beled wa amal zayma inni awze*). I replied [illegible]nd shall never from this day forth be inherited" (*wa l*[illegible]. He said nothing more but turned and went into the P[illegible]

After this Cookson [illegible]es and held conferences with Arabi and at last [illegible] new[illegible]m the Khedive that [illegible] nationalist terms we[illegible]d. Riaz [illegible]ha was dismissed, [illegible] Pasha was [illegible] the Khedive[illegible] the petty satisfac[illegible]n of humbl[illegible]

Pa[illegible]sing fro[illegible] of these [illegible] to the [illegible]of constituti[illegible] the nationa[illegible] wished for was given him. SHEIKH-UL-EMBABEH was made the Sheikh-ul Islam and SULTAN PASHA, the only fellah dignitary in the court and a strong constitutionalist was asked to take up the presidentship of the Assembly, which came to be known as the *Mejlis-ul-Nawwab* or the Council of Notables. All was good, calm, and serene when something that one had dreamt of happened, and that was the treachery of Sult Pasha, who had not only formerly acted as a patron to Arabi but a had been a most ardent constitutionalist. The Khedive, reduced he was to practical tutelage was glad to have on his side a lea of the opposite-party, and to show that nationalism was a work of few, that there was no unity in the camp, and that it was not all an institution that claimed the sympathy of the majority of Egyptians. All kinds of misrepresentations were made to shake t sympathy of certain persons in England, and also to embitter m the feelings of those who were not favourably disposed towa the nationalists. In the meantime Mr. Blunt was doing all that could do for his Egyptian friends. He had sent a man, Lousi Sabu a Syrian Christian, to Egypt to refute the misrepresentations in English press both through the doubtful integrity of Sir Auckl Colvin, who was a correspondent to the *Pall Mall Gazette* of wh John Morley was the Editor, and also owing to the ignorance of t other news correspondents who received their information from English Consulate or from the Controller General's Office. Gladsto who in his famous Mid-Lothian compaign had strongly espoused t cause of the Eastern World as a set-off to the Jingoism of Beaconsfie had now, having come into office forgotten everything about it. Easte affairs were misrepresented in th[illegible] *Mall* and Mr. Blunt attribut to its Editor (Mr. Morley) [illegible] sibility of having persuad Gradstone to the act of v[illegible] which was the chief sin Gradstone's public career [illegible] musing thing that in th *Life of Gladstone* compi[illegible] Mr. Morley, the passag that deals with his transac[illegible] been slurred over, a every means has been ad[illegible] the compass of a f pages the charges brought [illegible] "duplimacy"—if I m coin an expressive t[illegible] mphasises the duplic involved in the a[illegible] to Egyptian a Backing up these [illegible] the int[illegible] affairs were despatches of Ed[illegible] with his forces at the [illegible] England i and put the merce[illegible] that had been ginally called to effect the capture of the two revolutionists. Osma Rifky was forced to retire as the Khedive was not particularly attache to him, and his place was occupied by Mahmud Sami, a Circassia with constitutional ideas, who belonged to the ministry of whic Cherif Pasha was the head. Riaz Pasha, the Premier, was especiall antagonistic to Arabi, whom he wanted to entangle in some affray an get him in his power, but these were always made known to him by th sympathetic attitude of Mahmud Sami, the constitutional war-ministe once foremost for their cause, and we have also learnt to see the other side of the question, the martyrdom of some great national heroes and the slaughter of persons influenced by the noblest motives. It must not be supposed that MR. BLUNT's noble and disinterested exertions bore no fruit. He had also great men in the rank of his followers, who sympathised with his self-imposed mission, WOLSELY, ADYE, and the gifted author of the book of the year, *Apologia*, FREDERIC HARRISON, the apostle of positivism in England. As a mark of sympathy even Chinese GORDON sent over a letter to MR. BLUNT, which is worth reproducing, characterised as it is by the frankness and indignation of that pious and righteous soldier.

---

* A fellah officer who had married in the palace and who was used by the Khedive as an intermediary between himself and the nationalists. He was in charge of the palace at the time of the demonstration. He afterwards lost favour in Court and joined Arabi's party.

Cape Town, 3rd August, 1882.

My dear Mr. Blunt,

You say in "Times" you are going to publish an account of what passed between you and the Government, kindly let me have a copy addressed as enclosed card. I have writen a MS. bringing things down from Cave's Mission to the taking of office by Cherif, it is called "Israel in Egypt," and I shall follow it with a sequel of 'the Exodus,' I do not know whether I shall print it, for it is not right to rejoice over one's enemies, I mean *official* enemies. What a fearful mess Malet and Colvin have made, and one cannot help remarking the *finale* of all Dilke's, Colvin's, and Malet's secretiveness. Dilke, especially in the House evaded every query on the plea that British interests would suffer. Poor things, I firmly believe he knows no more of his policy than this Foreign Office porter did; he had none. Could things have ended worse if he had said everything? I think not. No more control, no more employe's drawing £373,000 a year—no more influence of consuls-general, a nation hating [illegible] more Tewfik—no more interest—a bombarded town, Alexandria—these [illegible] of the grand secret diplomacy. Colvin will go off to India, Mal[illegible] ll know no more of them. All this because controllers and [illegible] uld not let Notables see the Budget when Cherif was in o[illegible] Let whatever may become of him individually, he will live for [illegible] they will never be "Your obedient servant" again.

[illegible] eve me,

[illegible] our sincerely,

[illegible] GORDON.

[illegible] all know the s[illegible] of E[illegible] and the Soudan, [illegible] the rise of the [illegible] the peace now [illegible] ed under British protection, [illegible] paym[illegible] of Lord Cro[illegible] the bureaucratic [illegible] form [illegible] the national[illegible] wished for was [illegible] of constitutio[illegible] given him. SHEIKH-UL-EMBABEH was made the Sheikh-ul Islam and SULTAN PASHA, the only fellah dignitary in the court and a strong constitutionalist was asked to take up the presidentship of the Assembly, which came to be known as the *Mejlis-ul-Nawwab* or the Council valley of the Nile, and that their eyes are directed in expectation toward Egyptian horizon to see the break of the dawn of liberty and the signal for deliverance of the children of Ishmael from the dominion of the Pharoahs their happy entry into the Promised Land of Freedom.

---

* A fellah officer who had married in the palace and who was used by the Khedive as an intermediary between himself and the nationalists. He was in charge of the palace at the time of the demonstration. He afterwards lost favour in Court and joined Arabi's party.

These words uttered in a moment of enthusiasm and impassio exaltation may turn out to be the language of true prophecy. the earnest national spirit in Egypt has already accomplished a s if not towards complete emancipation yet a promise of autonom Government. Sir Eldon Gorst's promise just at the morning of accession renders his name endearable to the Muslims of E MR. BLUNT's book has performed a noble mission, his works a n and a greater.

His body racked with pain, his dauntless spirit yet unbro the palsied hand of WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT has written his imm name indelibly in the Temple of Truth.

He indeed can say with Raleigh :—

Go, Soul, the Body's Guest,
Upon a thankless errand,
Fear not to touch the best
The Truth shall be thy warrant,
Then go, for thou must die,
And give the world the lie.

(b) THE EMPIRE AND THE CENTURY.

The Empire and the Ce[illegible] name of a volume publi by Mr. John Murray in 19[illegible] publisher an apolog not noticing it earlier. I[illegible] ies of essays on Imp Problems and Possibili[illegible] Writers,' together wit introduction by Mr. C[illegible] man and the inevit poem by Mr. Rudyard K[illegible] in the first part o book deal with such q[illegible] Imperial Ideal, Free T and Empire, Imp[illegible] defen[illegible] Policy, while the se part gives exha[illegible] and i[illegible] unts of the colo dependencies. [illegible] mpossible [illegible] rt review li with all those [illegible] erial and p[illegible] [illegible] which [illegible]

[illegible] ith his forces at the [illegible] Downing Str[illegible] [illegible] anville, deaf, old and lazy, considered little wha Egypt was undergoing, and in spite of the honest preachings an endeavours of MR. BLUNT war at last broke out, and the first fie chosen was Alexandria where a riot of the Greek Christians insidious helped by English agents had just occured, a war that lasted loud a long, and after destroying the best elements in Egypt effected a Briti protectorate over that land. We all know the fate of Tel-el-Keb and Kassasin. [illegible] all have heard of the treachery of persons, who we have mentioned above, deal with the problems which they discuss in a fair and honest manner on the whole, but the true fact of the matter is that it is a psychological impossibility for the Anglo-Indian to understand and appreciate the real meaning and worth of those new thought-currents which are agitating the mind of the Indians and which are destined to play a decisive part in the moulding of our Future.

The ideal which Sir Francis Younghusband places before his countrymen is very high indeed. "* * India and England," says he, "will be bound together for many days and nights to come, so long as we do not hold India from pure pride of possession, but with the strong faith that it is our appointed task in the development of mankind to preserve peace where we had found anarchy, to enforce the eternal principles of justice, to help forward those primitive races who are still far behind, and to quicken into new life those highly-cultured peoples who for long centuries have been numbed in sleep." But the question is how many of his countrymen are animated by this ideal. "Most of those who work in India have this faith," says Sir Francis Younghusband, but we take leave to doubt this statement, and the conduct of the average Britisher in this country is, we believe, a sufficient justification for our doubt.

"To benefit the people is the inspiring thought of every British administrator in India," says Sir Francis in another place. Statements like these are very [illegible]ting to those who have to pay the piper, and who know th[illegible] Civil Service is the best-paid service in the worl[illegible] object to this deification of the Anglo-Indian admi[illegible] nothing but praise for that high and noble ideal w[illegible] Younghusband has placed before his countryme[illegible] and significance of which he has explained thus [illegible] of his paper :—

> The idea, then, which I [illegible] occup[illegible] suggest as governing all other ideas regarding our manag[illegible] this fu[illegible]ntal idea of treating [illegible]ationship betwee[illegible] hearty c[illegible]ship. And with this [illegible]n our minds, [illegible] the [illegible]ndeur and [illegible] of the task which [illegible]s before [illegible] paym[illegible]e have devote[illegible]fficiency of time to [illegible]sident's [illegible] how to [illegible] reside[illegible] position in the [illegible] of [illegible] scep[illegible] of government which [illegible] just y[illegible] up his scep[illegible]

Sir Eldon Gorst, the new agent of His Majesty in Egypt.

During my stay in England in the course of an address delivered in Arabic before Moustafa Kamel Pasha I had said:—

> Return to your beloved country and continue your struggle for freedom, and in moments of dejection and despair, remember that you are not quite alone, that henceforth the best wishes of the dwellers on the banks of the Rhine, and the Danube, the Ganges and the Euphrates accompany the efforts of a son of the

inventors and mechanicians, nor yet as writers and thinkers only, but, i addition to and above all these, as the nation which most truly translat high thought into generous action, which infused a fresher, healtheir and more strenuous life into the millions of India, which brought out all t latent good that for centuries had lain dormant in them, and gave such impulse and initial guidance as had started them fairly on the path whi leads to the highest pinnacles of human glory and attainment. We sou them merely for trade. We found them immersed in strife. If ever we le them, may it be in the attitude most natural to them, with their ar stretched out to the Divine.

The paper of Sir Charles Crosthwaite on the Past, Present a Future of India, lacks the spirituality, the ideality and the poetry Sir Francis Younghusband's essay. The ideal which Sir F. You husband has placed before his countrymen does not find an ec in the words of Sir Charles Crosthwaite. To a very great exte his views are those of the average Anglo-Indian bureaucrat. He is the caricature of the Indian National Congress presented by Charles Crosthwaite to his readers.

> If I am asked if there is no measure which can be taken in order give our Government a deeper hold on the people, I reply that we cannot better than go on as we have begun. Some may think that the time has co for broadening the foundations of our rule and basing it on a system representation by election. This is one of the main objects of the Congr a gathering of persons supposed to represent the different provinces, wh has been held yearly for the [illegible] years or more. Their platform almost the same now as it was i[illegible] employment of natives the country in all the highe[illegible]ly occupy all the lower) representative body, elected [illegible] some power of finan control; the repeal of the [illegible] everyone to become volunteer. But there is one th[illegible]ght fit to propose— abolition of the British arm[illegible] that if they were allo to volunteer it might be reduc[illegible]ell that British rifles required to defend [illegible]untry a[illegible]e while they practise statesmanship upon [illegible] know a[illegible]ere left to thei resources they wou[illegible] speedily hu[illegible] of [illegible] legislative wherever [illegible] have establish his forces at the [illegible]ke such [illegible]

to the[illegible] C[illegible] th[illegible] [illegible] important [illegible] deal with [illegible] of India, *viz.*, "Our True Relationship with India" by Sir Franc Younghusband; "India Past, Present and Future" by Sir Char Crosthwaite, and "Indian Education" by Mr. Theodore Moris We think it a great pity that the editor did not think it wo his while to ask a competent Indian writer to contribute a pa to this series on the present aims and aspirations of the Educa Indians, their Past, Present and Future. The papers, which

The extract which we have given above will sufficiently show our readers, the spirit in which Sir Charles Crosthwaite's paper is written. It is this spirit of sheer and dogmatic antagonism to their growing aspirations and this tone of supercilious contempt with which their most cherished hopes are treated, which makes the educated Indian community angry, indignant and sullen. They do not object to honest and fair discussion; differences of opinion they can understand; criticism, even the most trenchant, they can bear, so long as it is actuated by the right kind of motive; but it is impossible to treat with forbearence and patience statements like these. Is the desire to serve one's country even by aspiring to the highest posts in the administration, or to defend it as volunteers, or to control its finances, really such a ludicrous thing that Indian publicists should be made the butt of the wit, or rather attempts at wit, of Sir Charles Crosthwaite, for entertaining it. As for "the diverse and multitudinous elements," that is an old story, as old as human nature. The Austrian despot said the same thing in reply to Italian aspirations. The Turk said the same thing to the Greek, and the Russian reactionary says the same thing to-day to the Russian Liberal. Sir Charles Crosthwaite by bringing forward this bogey, this "old man up the chimney," has shown to us that he is incapable of understanding the meaning, and appreciating the srength of those intellectual, moral and spiritual forces which are moulding the Future of the East. "Nations by themselves are made" it is true, and the [illegible] of even a retired Lieutenant-Governor cannot do mu[illegible]ward march of an organised, progressive, and deter[illegible]t the British administrator who instead of helpi[illegible]ult but honest and genuine efforts, treats our ho[illegible]ith ridicule and contempt not only fails to d[illegible] those over whom he is set, but he also makes the[illegible] Indian administration much more arduous and dif[illegible] would [illegible]wise be, by creating [illegible]nation and bitte[illegible] of [illegible]ucated classes. It [illegible] easy just [illegible] or to ridicule the educated [illegible] politic for hi[illegible] do so, because [illegible] form [illegible]

[illegible] be easily and [illegible] and when we have likewise trained our minds sufficiently,—then, when we find some leisure to think of what we intend actually to do in the world, what contribution we are going to make towards the general welfare of mankind, let us turn our thoughts to India and those three hundred millions of people whose destinies lie in our hands, and let us so act that when, in the dim distant ages, the final history of our race is written, we may be known to posterity not merely as the nation which was clever at buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest markets, nor even as the most cunning from an intermediary landlord, and not directly from the Government. Suffic it to say that from 1859 to the present time there has been a succession o measures for the protection of the cultivator. Security of tenure and a fai rent have been recognised as no less important for the prevention of famin than irrigation. Hardly a Viceroy has left India without an addition to th Statute-Book in this direction.

It does not lie in the mouth of a Government which has alway regarded Indian landlords as exacting, rapacious and cruel to sa that these men are the "natural leaders" of that very peasantr which needs to be protected against their *zulum* by the strong ar of law. But politics is an unethical game and the Anglo-Indian Go ernment has not hesitated to set class against class by patting the very landlords on the back simply because at the present momen it suits its purpose to do so.

The best is the last paper of the series dealing with India, which has been written by Mr. Morison on Indian Education. It is no possible for us to agree with all that Mr. Morison says but we do not think that the characteristic trait of modern education can be pu more clearly and eloquently than in the following words.

> The answer which almost all Indians give to the question, 'what h English literature taught you?' is that it has taught them liberty to think f themselves; it has freed them from slavery to authority. This, perhaps, not the lesson which a German or a Spaniard would extract from Englis literature, for the value and suggestiveness of any new idea depends large upon the previously existing sto[illegible]hich it is conjoined; but the tellectual antecedents of the Indi[illegible] this idea more than a other appeared to him novel an[illegible] characteristic of all Indi teaching in the past, whether H[illegible] has been reverence authority. The young schola[illegible]justify his views by cit a great Pandit or Moulvi; and [illegible] follow a certain sch of thought, it was sheer bla[illegible] the teaching of any o great masters. With such ante[illegible] surprising that the m wonderful and illum[illegible] idea [illegible]ature should have been freedom and indepen[illegible] which [illegible]. They found selves suddenly bro[illegible]to a world [illegible] private judg was a duty and the [illegible] licentious exerci[illegible]h his forces at the [illegible]
>
> Th[illegible] Circ[illegible] th[illegible] any one [illegible]sed the divers[illegible] multitu[illegible] elemen[illegible] British dominion alone has given any sort of unity. Their doings serv mainly to show the political immaturity of the present generation of educate Indians. If they refrained from sedition and exciting race hatred, one migh laugh at them. But they have not always so refrained. Their loyalty ostentatious, but somewhat onesided. 'God bless the king' but look on ever British soldier as a wild beast and on every English official in India as tyrant, to be removed as soon as may be!

but if ever they so far widen their mental outlook as to admit political conceptions, they will draw their ideas from the intellectual minority above them. In that minority the political opinions of the English-educated reign supreme. The old conservatives, who remain faithful in their allegiance to oriental ideals, have put forward no constructive view of politics and even in social matters they are fast giving ground before the crusading culture of Europe. The political opinions of the English-educated, therefore, seem destined eventually to become predominant in India, not becasue they are the wisest, but because there is no opposing school of thought to resist their progress ; and so it is upon the political ideals prevalent among those who have attended our colleges that depends the answer to the question whether or no India will be content in the future to remain within the circuit of the British Empire

Wise words these, and it would be fortunate both for England and India if their significance were understood and the advice conveyed in them given the consideration it deserves. We commend to educated Indians a careful perusal of the three essays on Indian problems in this volume, which though expensive, is quite worth the price, by reason of its manifold interest.

And yet in this very same paper occurs a paragraph which deserves the serious consideration of the Anglo-Indian rulers of the present day, who seem to have " natural leaders " on the brain. In how far the interests of these landlords or " natural leaders" are identical with the interest of the bulk of the voiceless millions is quite apparent from the following passage :—

Space does not permit me to enlarge what has been done in the way of legislation to protect the peasant from eviction and exactions when he holds

CRITICISMS AND DISCUSSIONS.

N.B.—The contributions under this heading refer to matt previously treated in the *Hindustan Review*. Criticisn any article will, as a rule, be limited to a single issue of review. The discussion ends with a reply from the orig writer.—ED.

PSEUDO-PATRIOTISM IN INDIA: LAST WORD

BY MR. MANOHARLAL ZUTSHI, M.A.

WHILE thanking "An Arya" for his short, but on whole, fair and lucid contribution on the above sub to the February number of the *Hindustan Review*, I would to say a few words in explanation of my position. "An Ar calls me a cosmopolitan, but if that word signifies a negatio patriotism then I must plead 'not guilty' to the charge. I love my country; I do feel a pride in the achievements of people. But my patriotism does not make me blind to the fau of my countrymen and to the cardinal and chronic weakness the Hindu social polity, and I am not prepared to attribute "p fection" even to the ancient Hindus. I have not and I do question Mr. Sarda's motives. When I call his patrioti pseudo-patriotism, I simply mean that to bestow indiscrimin praise with the help of indiscriminate quotations and to cl all-round perfection for the ancient Hindus is false patrioti for, while this sort of exagg [illegible] fails to impress the thoug ful foreigner, it produces [illegible] foolish vanity among own people and prevents reas[illegible]mination of the defe of our own social system [illegible] st searching of h which must precede all [illegible] Mr. Sarda may actuated by the best of [illegible] is no gainsaying fact that in place of doi[illegible] like his do infi harm. As I have said a [illegible] ce no good effect the foreigner for [illegible] ver[illegible] defeats their obj Does "An Arya [illegible] lly be[illegible] is possible for impress our su[illegible]ty even [illegible]thetic foreign quotations from [illegible] *Hamilton* [illegible] of [illegible] the *W* *town Post*? [illegible] k that the f[illegible] his forces at the [illegible] incline the [illegible] ena[illegible] [illegible] Morison in another place :—

> The English-educated class forms whatever public opinion exists i India with regard to political affairs. It is, of course, true that they for only a miscroscopically small fraction of the whole population, but yet in th long run it is their opinion which is likely to prevail, because there is other class which holds any opinion at all upon public questions. The gre mass of the agricultural population is as yet only concerned with the chanc of the harvest, the gossip of the village, or the propitiation of the local ghos

to his "criticism" or to descend to his *Shastrarthic* methods. Good manners, if no higher consideration, forbade it. I can only tell him

لگے منہہ بوی چڑھانے دیتے دیتے گالیاں صاحب * زباں بگڑی تو بگڑی تھی خبر لیجئے دھن بگڑا

But I can assure "An Arya" that Mr. Ram Deva's methods have not in any way affected my estimate of the body to which he belongs. I have before now paid my humble tribute to the magnificent work of the Arya Samaj in the domain of Religious and Social Reform, Philanthropy and Education, and I am ready to do it again. But my admiration for the Arya Samaj does not make me blind to its weaknesses,—weaknesses, which I honestly believe, stand in the way of much good work, and which often make co-operation with non-Samajic bodies difficult, if not impossible. The bulk of the Arya Samajists seem to think that he who is not with them is against them. A friend of mine remarked to me that if you praise the Arya Samaj, our Samajic friends regard it as a matter of course, but the moment you utter a word of criticism—however well-intentioned—they begin to abuse you. I must say that there is considerable truth in this remark. The best of us cannot claim perfection, and it is sometimes necessary, for the preservation of intellectual and moral health, to see ourselves as others see us. Criticism, as long as it is well-intentioned and intelligent and couched in gentlemanly language, should not be resented. We should, on the other hand, try to understand and appreciate it. That it is not so in the Arya Samaj is apparent, among other things, from the resentment and anger which Mr. Ishwar Saran's article, recently published in the *Hindust*[illegible]ems to have excited among the Arya Samajic gentl[illegible]ad. I do not think that an outsider could hav[illegible] question in a more sympathetic and kindlier s[illegible]riticism could have been couched in more cour[illegible]nd yet it aroused indignation, the reason of [illegible] my comprehension. It is good news for all of [illegible] even Lala Munshi Ram is preaching the gospel [illegible] work [illegible]ough I must say [illegible] there is a world [illegible] in this [illegible]ven." I beg to [illegible] my "Arya" [illegible]here are [illegible] men outside the [illegible] Samaj, wh[illegible]o sign the [illegible]ajic creed, yet [illegible]gard th[illegible] a compul[illegible]maj with a[illegible] and the [illegible]sident's [illegible]. All that can [illegible]

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I.—" *I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justi
I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retre
single inch—*and I will be heard.*" (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberat*

MOTTO II.—" Minds may doubt and hearts may fail, when called to
new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when w
is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strang
(From Dr. Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation*).

Our Last Number.

THE *Vedic Magazine and Gurukula Samachar* has the foll ing appreciation of the *Hindustan Review* :—" We c gratulate the talented editor of the *Hindus Review*, which is the foremost periodical Upper India, on the excellence and supreme worth of the men pabulam supplied by it, ever since it has come into existen Sane and enlightened patriotism, and fearless advocacy of cause of the country, are most of the features of the *Hindust Review.*" The *Indian Daily Telegraph* of Lucknow has following comments on some of the articles that appeared our last issue :—

In the February number o[illegible]*dustan Review*, there appears article by the Hon'ble Khan B[illegible] Din on the relations betw Anglo-Indians and Indians, w[illegible] far as it goes, in advoc sympathy and social interco[illegible] communities, but rega a most important point, tha[illegible]ab Chief Court ex actually advances the ridiculo[illegible] that because Anglo-I gentlemen cannot be introduce[illegible] no Indian gentlemen s be introduced to An[illegible]lian la[illegible]t, social intercourse s be restricted to the[illegible] both co[illegible] course, if he had this way, that unti[illegible] Mahomedans [illegible]duced their w Anglo-Indian gent[illegible] the latter, in[illegible] his forces at the [illegible]roduce Ind gent[illegible] [illegible]ight ha no[illegible] we are made ridiculous in the eyes of the foreigner, our o people are misled into a false sense of national pride whi vitiates all real efforts at Reform.

As for Professor Ram Deva of the *Gurukul* I have very lit to say. When he began to abuse me in the pages of *Vedic Magazine*, I came to the conclusion, that so far as t publication was concerned, it was better for me " to keep sile even from good words." It was impossible for me to re religion and that which, thoroughly realised and acted upon, would achieve India's salvation. The Rev. Edvin Greaves concludes his articles on Christianity. He writes sympathetically and with a genuine endeavour to bring to the front the good point of that religion, but it is a pity he is not better versed in his subject—that he has not had the advantage of meeting Churchmen of the type of the Rev. Dr. Cobb, for instance, men who have studied the esoteric side of Christianity, who understand the writing of St. John the Divine, who know that which is hidden from "those without." If the Rev. Edwin Greaves had read more, and had sought intuitively to discover the real beauties of the Christian religion, probably he would never have written so innocently about the question of re-birth and set himself in opposition to the most Christian doctrine of the evolution of the soul.

The Americanization of India

Under the heading of "the Americanization of India," the *Literary Digest* of New York, U. S. A., has the following observations on Mr. K. Natarajan's article on "Social Reform: A National Problem," which appeared in the issue of this *Review* for December last:—

> It would seem as if India is waking up to the idea that any great social or political reformation is impossible without the co-operation of the Hindu women. Woman in India has so far been a somewhat neglected factor. The two sexes have been separated by a profound gulf. This circumstance has suddenly become realized by those social and political reformers who at present are agitating in that vast empire which extends from the Himalayas to Ceylon. It is noteworthy that the importance of f[illegible]ale influence is being learned from the example of England a[illegible]erica. Before India can be reformed socially and politica[illegible] Let [illegible]rajan in *The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad), the women [illegible] be educated as they are in the United States. The great [illegible] of the [illegible] reform movement of India lies in the illiteracy of the [illegible] must be Americanized in this respect before it can be radically [illegible] emancipated. In very remarkable terms the writer [illegible] the abs[illegible] necessity of giving the women of India an education [illegible] enable them [illegible] intelligently to co-operate with their husbands [illegible] nationality. The standards of A[illegible] prevail in India before the country can [illegible] All that can [illegible] for [illegible] behalf of the [illegible] has [illegible] be easily [illegible]ness and higher culture in the ranks of the 'Arya Samaj.'

much pleasure in reproducing below an equally sympatheti leading article from the well-known Calcutta daily—the *India Mirror*. Our contempoary says:—

We attach much importance to the Caste Conferences which are h regularly every year in various parts of the country with a view to advanc the cause of social reform. The Rajput Conference, the Khatria Conferen the Vaisha Conference, the Kayastha Conference, and similar other organi tions have done much to create an interest among their respective communit in important social questions. The Kayastha Conference held its ninetee session at Aligarh during Christmas week, under the presidency of Babu S Saran Lal, Manager of the Dumraon Raj. The Kayasthas are a large, educa and influential body, numbering more than thirty lacs in all India, and th social activities, therefore, may be expected to have considerable influe upon Hindu society. The proceedings of the Kayastha Conference at Alig judging from the report which has appeared in the *Hindustan Review*, w not of a very harmonious character, but, on the whole, the function wa successful one. Delegates came from Agra, Oudh, Behar, the Punjab, Gwal and Jeypur; Behar was somewhat poorly represented, evidently on account of caste controversy raging there. Anyhow, it is pleasing to notice the g work which the Kayastha Conference has been doing, in spite of the midable opposition it has met with from the bigoted section of the communi One splendid result, achieved by the Conference, is the encouragement of s voyage, the prejudice against which is being slowly but appreciably lesse every year among the Kayasthas of Behar. As the President of the C ference observed, had the question of the sea-voyage not been discussed solved by the Conference, the Behari community could not have spoken to- with pride of the attainments [illegible] l, C. S., of Messrs. Mah Charan, Ambika Charan and [illegible] Among the other res achieved by the Conference, [illegible] free interdining among several sub-sects of Kayasthas, [illegible] age expenses and m stipulations, impetus to hand [illegible] settlement of disputes *Panchayat*, and a visible chan[illegible] Kayasthas. A Confe[illegible] which [illegible] better in the drinking habits of in the advancement [illegible] community. [illegible] ach is certainly a powerful fa

The President's [illegible] was an ea[illegible] important social ref[illegible] and improvem[illegible] laid stress on several educat[illegible], Penny [illegible] his forces at the [illegible] tion of female [illegible] tion for helpl[illegible] effect [illegible] of the [illegible] to take it for granted that the absurd and antiquated cast-iron *purdah* reg tions now in force, are to remain—for ever? Mr. H. G. Keene, C. I. E., wr an appreciative sketch of Lord Lytton and quite a novel feature is the art on the "Nambudiris of Malabar," by Miss T. Parukutty, which contains m interesting information. It would be well, indeed, for India, if all Indi would realise the greatest need of the country—social efficiency, to which V. L. Narasimham endeavours to draw attention and learn to subordinate pr interests to those of the community at large, which is truly the hig suggestions of the President are worthy of notice. One was that a tax of one anna per month should be levied on each adult male Kayastha for the purposes of an educational fund, and the other was to the effect that pensioned and retired gentlemen should be asked to devote a portion of their time for the benefit of the community. Both were, indeed, good suggestions, and although the first one was not adopted, we do not see why there should be any difficulty in carrying out the other even without a Resolution.

Babu Siv Saran Lal's speech.

In our last issue we printed Munshi Sohan Lall's rejoinder to our special correspondent's report of the Aligarh session of the Conference. In connection with the same controversy we reproduce below the text of a letter addressed by an anonymous correspondent to the *Beharee* and the *Kayastha Messenger* and which has appeared in both the Behar papers. It is strange that it did not strike the writer that the criticism of our special correspondent's report should have been addressed in the first instance to the *Hindustan Review* and could have been sent with propriety to other publications only in case we had refused to print it. However, here is the criticism of our special correspondent's report.

We have read with much pleasure the report of the Kayastha Conference, held at Aligarh, in December last as published in the *Hindustan Review.* We think the writer has not done justice to the Presidential address and we are afraid he has even misunderstood it in some points. We are in possession of a copy of the President's [illegible] light of it, we venture, with your permission, to correct [illegible] by the reporter of the *Hindustan Review.* The Reporter [illegible] stopping to discuss the merits of the above ambitious scheme of va[illegible] activity I cannot help observing here that no one—not even occupying a presidential chair—has a right to declare in an open meeting that a compulsor[illegible]ment of Rs. 500 be enforced on all the ex-presidents and would-be pres[illegible] of an institution." The above is not in keeping with the spirit of the [illegible]nt's speech. He has [illegible]here made the payment a compulsory affair or as the writer thinks a price [illegible] the President's [illegible] All that can be inferred fro[illegible] is that the Preside[illegible] position [illegible] for help [illegible] behalf of the [illegible]shala has [illegible] be easily and readil[illegible]

The Last Kayastha Conference.

We are glad to find that the last session of the Kayastha Conference held at Aligarh has evoked much greater public interest than any previous session of that body, at any rate during the last ten years. Last month we reproduced an appreciative leading article from the *Hindoo Patriot* of Calcutta. We have his. This is wholly unfair for we see the President has reserved no suc 'safe and convenient province,' as the writer calls it, in his favour. Th scheme can be carried out practically, as the President has also very clear pointed out, if district and village associations be organised without which entirely agree in thinking it with the reporter as an 'extremely unworkal suggestion' The writer should have looked to the whole of the Preside speech.

The Kayastha Intermarriage Society.

Mr. Iswar Saran has addressed the following interesti letter to many of the papers of the Unit Provinces and Behar :—

The year 1907 will long be remembered in the annals of public m ments in India. It was in this year that the Congress was wrecked an was also in this very year that the Kayastha Conference was converted i the Kayastha Educational Conference. Apparently our friends of Aliga still retain the old superstitious belief in the charm that a name possesse They feel that what the Kayastha Conference could not do, will now b accomplished by the same institution under a different name. Let us ho the Kayastha Educational Conference will usher into existence the edu tional millennium for which our Aligarh friends are yearning. But till t advent of that millennium we shall suspend our judgment as regards the wisd of the course followed at Aligarh in December last.

The desire to raise the Kayastha Patshala to the status of a first gr College is very laudable indeed. But are you going to bring about this re by simply changing the name of the Kayastha Conference and by hol its sittings at Allahabad in alternate years? [illegible] Patshala is suffering no lack of funds but for lack of [illegible] sincere, who will put t whole heart into the work. Take [illegible] Hindu College at Bena There are men devoted to the C[illegible] who [illegible] ing thrown up their career life, are carrying on the work with zeal and disinterestedness. The wan of a few such men for the Patshala and not a change in the name of this that institution. Let our [illegible] garh friends bear in mind that the really importa thing is the spirit and [illegible] e name.

So far by the wa[illegible] appears that, being dissatisfied with the existin state of affairs, a band of earnest men have organised the Inter-marriage Societ [illegible] sincerely hoped that this society will prove a success. The Kay thas, like other castes, are sub-divided into various sub-sections which h absolutely no sanction in the Shastras. They are utterly indefensible and it gratifying that even the most re-actionary amongst us cannot support the There is a perfect unanimity of opinion as regards the admissibility of aboli ing them. Happily, orthodoxy and heterodoxy join hands over this questi The time has come when a huge effort should be made to do away with the sub-divisions altogether. Our friends therefore deserve to be congratulated forming a society the only object of which will be to introduce inter-marriag amongst the various sub-sections of the Kayastha community. It is a w thing that they have included no other reform in their programme of work. Concentration of energy is a great secret of success.

I have always been of opinion that the Kayasthas are prepared to accept many reforms, if they will only be approached in the right spirit. Inter-dining has begun and it does not arouse opposition or angry criticism. The other step we have to take is to begin inter-marriage. True, there will be a little opposition in the beginning, but has opposition ever daunted men? I say that the time has come when we should introduce inter-marriage into our community. Let a few earnest and tactful men come forward to work for this society and I have not a shadow of doubt that the barrier against inter-marriage will be removed completely in about 15 or 20 years' time. Some people, it may be, who do not possess sufficient faith in sincerity and earnestness, will gravely smile at my optimism and shrug their shoulders. But I confess, I believe that there is not much difficulty if we shall only carry the work vigorously and systematically. Yes, if the hysterics of the old ladies of both sexes will deter us, of course then we shall not be able to introduce this reform for another century or more. But if we be firm success is sure to come. I appeal to the educated men of the community to strenuously work for the attainment of this object. "Give a pull, a strong pull and a pull altogether and you will reach the shores of victory in no time." Let gentlemen interested in this question communicate either with M. Baldeo Prasad, Vakil, Bareilly, or M. Zorawar Singh, Pleader, Etawah, who are the President and the Secretary respectively of the Kayastha Inter-marriage Society.

A word of explanation is perhaps needed why I have ventured to take up so much space in your esteemed paper for the consideration of a question that apparently affects one single community. My position is that these are not communal questions, they affect the entire country. The Kayasthas number about 30 lacs and if you can reform them, will you not thereby reform an appreciable portion of the whole nation? Let each man who is working for a particular caste always remember that he is not working for that caste as a separate entity but for a portion of the whole nation. If all the workers be animated by the spirit, one worker will regard the other as a brother, both of whom are labouring not for the advancement of this or that caste but of the motherland.

The Kayastha Temperance Reform Movement.

We gladly make room for the following communication from an esteemed correspondent and we have much pleasure in associating ourselves with his appeal to the Kayastha Community on behalf of the Temperance Reform movement:—

We invite the attention of our readers towards a very important matter—the useful services rendered to the Kayastha Community by the Kayastha Temperance Reform Association during a period of sixteen years and its present requirements and needs for continuing the same. Our readers are fully aware that there was a time, not long since, when the Hindustani Kayastha Community was looked down upon owing to its being addicted to drink. And condition was quite deplorable and pitiable. Drinking was looked upon social custom and a family rite, among the Kayasthas and thus thousand persons were the victims of degradation and misery. Large sums of m of the community used to be spent on wine, and the health and wealt the community both very badly suffered.

We are glad to see a decided improvement in this matter in the Com nity now. Wine drinking has been stopped on all festive occasions. than twenty thousand Kayasthas have taken Temperance Pledges so that of rupees of the Kayastha community have been saved from misuse. above results have been obtained by the Kayastha Temperance Reform Mi It is a universally admitted fact that all the Temperance Reform Missio the world have had to take recourse to two instruments for achieving cess: (1). Updeshaks or Preachers and (2). Temperance Reform series it not sad to see that this social mission has never been given so m pecuniary help, as to enable it to bring into practice any of the two ins ments? The greater part of the work of this Mission owes its success to ceaseless help given by the late Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Lal, B.A., who a great sympathizer of this work and who used to give a financial help 200 Rs. annually to this work. The Temperance Fund had also been rece ing some help from a few Kayasthas and from the donations given on performance of marriages among the Kayasthas. It is the ill-luck of Kayastha Community, and especially of the Kayastha Temperance Refo that the untimely death of Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Lal has given a v severe blow to the cause of this mission. It is, therefore, absolutely neces that the enlightened Kayastha gentlemen should at once take care of mission. The General Secretary has exerted his utmost, these days, to the hearts of the high-minded Kayasthas, and the result is that Dewan L Narayan, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Lahore, has kindly accepted the patronage of Kayastha Temperance Reform Mission and has promised an annual donati 50 Rs. to the Temperance Fund and has paid 50 Rs. already, and B Govind Pershad, M.A., LL.B., of Allahabad, has promised a sum of 50 Rs. to Temperance Fund and Dewan Hariher Prasad of Domraon, has don 50 Rs. to the Temperance Fund and has promised to continue his dona for the future. Besides this some small sums have been received in cash, some have been promised at the General Temperance meeting at the Alig Conference. But it is to be regretted that the total amount promised realized cannot be sufficient to defray the expenses of the Kayastha Temp ance movement even for four months, as the mission has to publish, year year, 2 Urdu Reports of the Temperance work, and one English report several thousands of circular letters of Temperance on the occasion of Festival. The charges of the publication of the above papers even cannot made up by the whole sum realised in the shape of donations to the fuud. It is absolutely necessary that the budget sanctioned by the Gen Meeting of the Aligarh Conference which amounts to 880 Rs. be reali anyhow. It is quite clear that it is not difficult for the Kayastha Commu to provide the Temperance Fund with the above sanctioned sum seeing that the community numbers as a whole about 30 lakhs of people. Nothing will be more surprising than the lack of the sympathy on the part of Kayasthas towards such a useful work as Temperance reform when the example of a strong foreign sympathy is before it that is—as soon as the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, London, heard the said news of the paucity of the Temperance Fund it sent a postal order of five shillings by way of donation to the said fund, which was received by the General Secretary with thankfulness and was returned by him to the sender with the remarks that the Kayastha Community has already made suitable arrangements for the financial condition of the Temperance Fund and is still doing the same, and hence the sum is not needed at present. Let enlightened and high-minded Kayasthas consider well that when the importance and value of the Kayastha Temperance reform work is being realised and appreciated by men thousands of miles off from India and their sympathy is being shown, it will be a matter of great grief and surprise and also of injustice if the Kayasthas themselves, for whose benefit the whole work is being done, should remain neutral and show no sympathy with the work.

We, therefore, appeal to the hearts of the enlightened Kayasthas to devote their special attention towards the noble work and to give it necessary help at once and we shall eagerly await the result of this appeal and shall be happy to learn from the General Secretary that our appeal has been successful in moving the hearts of the Kayasthas and that the work has been re-established on firmer footing and a surer basis.

* * *

Kayasthas and Public Services.

"The following letter from Babu Oudh Behari Lal deserves," says the *Advocate* of Lucknow, "careful consideration of not only Kayasthas, but the general public":—

We often hear it stated by some such members of the Kayastha community as are already in the Government service or seek entrance into it that in many cases their prayers for promotion as well as new appointments in several branches of the service are rejected with the remark that the applicants are Kayasthas. If there is any truth in this statement a sifting inquiry should be held to ascertain the causes which lead up to this remark being made and to take early steps to devise remedies for the avoidance of such remarks in future. We are led to believe by the memorable words of our late Gracious Sovereign in which the great proclamation is couched that only fitness will be taken into consideration in filling posts under the crown and that no regard will be had to the race, color, caste, or creed of the seekers after them. Does not this remark imply either a kind of slur upon the Kayasthas or an attempt at deliberate infringement of the promises of our late Gracious Sovereign? Are not the Kayasthas therefore in duty bound to resent and enter a respectful protest against such remarks? Surely the remark does not mean that the

Kayasthas should seek their fortunes abroad and leave the protection of flag of Great Britain. I would therefore suggest, through the columns of valuable paper, that an opportunity should be taken of the forthcoming as blage at Lucknow on the 29th February, 1908, to convene either a forn informal meeting of the Kayastha gentlemen attending the great assem in order to consider how far the statement is true and what can be done i matter.

"It is really hard and unjust," continues the *Advo* "that Kayastha employés of Government should be ref promotion for no fault of theirs, but because they are Kayas and it is the policy of the Government not to have a la number of them in certain branches of the public service Government in distributing its patronage thus not only ta for its guidance caste, but creates an unnecessary amoun heart-burning in the services."

Indian Press, Allahabad.

The Madras Marriage Bill.

By Mr. R. RAGHUNATHA RAO, B. A.

EVEN since permission was given to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Shastriar to introduce his Post-puberty Marriage Bill into the Madras Legislative Council, there has been some stir in the proverbially lethargic ranks of the so-called orthodox Brahmin community of the Madras Presidency. Meetings have been held at several places, and resolutions for and against the bill have been passed. One regrettable feature of the meetings against the bill has been the phenomenal ignorance of cultured young men who took part in the discussions. The cry of " Religion in danger " has been general in this camp, though no valid arguments have been adduced in its support. The opponents of the Bill do not seem to be aware of even the notorious fact that the Kshatriyas, who very generally celebrate Post-puberty marriages, use the very same Vedic mantras that the orthodox Brahmins use, and that both consistency and logic should compel them to petition the Government to declare the Kshatriya Post-puberty marriages illegal and invalid. Orthodox opponents of the measure do not seem to be anxious to study the Vedic mantras of the marriage ritual. Their ignorance however, though really culpable, need not surprise us, while that exhibited by cultured young men is really strange inasmuch as people expected them to be friends of progress and all that may stand for common sense in the discussion of vital questions affecting the social efficiency of the community to which they belong.

The essential part of the marriage ritual, as set out in the Vedic mantras, is really very simple ; and so far as the Age Question is concerned, there is one mantra which settles it beyond dispute and I propose to expound it here for the careful consideration of all concerned, as its signifiance has not yet been sufficiently brought to the serious notice of the public. I take it from the Ekagni Kanda, published by Mr. A. Mahadeva Shastriar, B.A, along with the Commentary of Haradatta Misra. It runs as follows :—

Sā twam asi, amūham, amūham, asmie, sā twam, Dynurakam, Prithivi twam ; Retōham, Retōbhrit twam ; Manōhamasmi, Vāk twam ; Samahumasmi, Rik twam ; Sāmāmanuvrata bhava ; Pumse putrāya vettavai, Sriyai putrā ya vettawa, e hi sūnrite.

Literal Translation. Rigveda thou art, Sama Veda I ; Samaveda I am, Rik thou ; Ethereal space I am, Earth thou art ; Retus I am, the bearer of Retus thou art ; mind I, speech thou ; Samaveda I am, Rigveda thou art ; undertake thou now the *vrata* or resolve I have undertaken ; to begat male progeny and to acquire wealth, both of tapas and children, O sweet-toned lady come thou now to me !

The essential parts of the marriage ritual are as follows :—

(1) Yoktra bandhana or tyeing of the yoke ;

(2) Janakāshirvada or Father's blessings ;

(3) Agni Pradakshina or walking round the sacred fire ;

(4) Pānigrahana or holding the hand and taking the pledge ;

(5) Sapta pada Prarthana or prayer for the seven essentials of the earthly life ;

(6) Agni samsarga or the uniting of the Fires ;

(7) Sambhogā hvana or the invitations for the sexual embrace ;

(8) Pradhāna homa or prayers and offerings to the united sacrificial fire.

The above enumeration of these essential parts of the marriage ritual enables us to estimate the significance of the mantra in question. Marriage is an affair of the bridegroom and bride ; and the father of the bride has nothing to do with it beyond giving his blessings when the bride takes leave of him on her departure from his house. The Vedic mantras are not properly explained in any existing commentary so far as I know, and want of space forbids me here to enter into any exposition of all of them. As indicated above, I shall confine myself to the explanation of the Vedic mantra embodying the invitation for sexual embrace.

The literal translation which I have given above does not enable the ordinary lay reader to comprehend its real significance, and a reference to some authoritative pronouncement is necessary. Fortunately for us, I find it in Sayanacharya's commentary on the first Anuvaka of the seventh Prashna of the third Ashataka of the Taithiriya Brahmana, which contains practically the same mantra. A summarised translation of the Commentary is as follows :—

" On the day of the sacrifice, while the ceremonies are going on, the master's wife may have her monthly illness, which prevents her from continuing the ritual. In such a case half of the fruit is gone, for the privilege of offering the sacrifice is shared equally by the couple. As she does not perform her part of the work, only half of the work is done. She has to be sent out, and the husband has to go through his portion repeating the mantras that fall to his share. Three nights after this day, the husband should invite his wife for the sexual embrace, repeating the mantra, beginning with "Samaveda I am, Rigveda thou art &c., (amuham asmi, sa twam; Dyauraham Prithivi twam ; Samaham Rik twam ; tavehi sambhavana ; saha reto dadhavahai ; pumse putraya vettavai rayas poshaya suprajastvaya suviryaya).

Explanation of the mantra :—" Taking the two Vedas, Rik and Sama, inasmuch as the Rigveda, which is thyself, occupies the first place, thou art superior to me. As I am Sama and as Sama occupies a subsequent or inferior place, I am inferior to you. Taking Ethereal space and the solid earth, I am only the ethereal space, whilst thou art the solid earth. Thou art Rig Veda, while I am only Samaveda. The parts of Sama are all found in the Rigveda, and they fully correspond. As the parts of these two Vedas fit one another, let us unite our several organs which fit one another, and be born once more. Let us combine our two retuses (vital essences), as we both desire sons that are capable of begetting other sons, and as we desire also abundance of wealth."

Sayanacharya's Commentary points out the way to get at the full or real interpretation of the mantra which we are considering; and his naming it as the invitation for sexual embrace is most important and significant. The relations between the Rik and Sama Vedas are explained by him. Dyanh or Ethereal space has only one quality or attribute which is Sound, while the earth has five qualities or attributes, which are Sound, Touch, Form, Taste, and Smell. Mind or thought is invisible, which speech manifests. or gives expression to it. Retus is possessed only by the adult man, and for woman to become its bearer she must be grown up, and she must have attained puberty. In the light of the facts above-mentioned, the following may be given as the explanatory translation of the mantra under consideration :—

"Rigvada thou art, and as such the place of honour thou dost occupy, while I am Samaveda occupying only a subsequent place. As in the absence of the Rigveda, Samaveda has no place and no use, so in thy absence I dwindle into a mere nothing. I am ethereal space which has only the quality of sound, while thou art the earth which has no less than five qualities—sound, touch, form, taste, and smell. I am only retus, while thou art the bearer thereof.—When thou bearest it in thy womb, thou dost nourish it, making the child grow. Invisible mind or thought I am, while thou art speech, which maketh thought manifest. Samaveda I am, which after all is only a part or portion of the Rigveda, while thou art the Rigveda which is vastly more comprehensive. As the words or parts of the Samaveda coincide with those of the Rigveda, make thy resolve to beget children coincide with mine. To combine our retuses together to beget male children, to acquire wealth of tapas and wealth of progeny, O sweet-toned Lady, come thou now to me.' It is plain that this mantra can have no other significance attached to it than that of an invitation for sexual embrace, make an attempt by some sort of sophistry to give it some other meaning, and see for yourself how futile the attempt proves. The context makes the attempt impossible for the following reasons :—

(*a*) In the Panigrahana ceremony the bridegroom has said ' I take thy hand for begetting satvic progeny."

(*b*) In another mantra he has said :—" May Pavamana make thee have me constantly in thy mind."

(*c*) In the Saptapada Prarthana he has prayed for the seven essential things of this earthly life, The essential parts of the marriage ritual are as follows :—

(1) Yoktra bandhana or tyeing of the yoke ;

(2) Janakāshirvada or Father's blessings ;

(3) Agni Pradakshina or walking round the sacred fire ;

(4) Pānigrahana or holding the hand and taking the pledge ;

(5) Sapta pada Prarthana or prayer for the seven essentials of the earthly life ;

(6) Agni samsarga or the uniting of the Fires ;

(7) Sambhogā hvana or the invitations for the sexual embrace ;

(8) Pradhāna homa or prayers and offerings to the united sacrificial fire.

The above enumeration of these essential parts of the marriage ritual enables us to estimate the significance of the mantra in question. Marriage is an affair of the bridegroom and bride ; and the father of the bride has nothing to do with it beyond giving his blessings when the bride takes leave of him on her departure from his house. The Vedic mantras are not properly explained in any existing commentary so far as I know, and want of space forbids me here to enter into any exposition of all of them. As indicated above, I shall confine myself to the explanation of the Vedic mantra embodying the invitation for sexual embrace.

The literal translation which I have given above does not enable the ordinary lay reader to comprehend its real significance, and a reference to some authoritative pronouncement is necessary. Fortunately for us, I find it in Sayanacharya's commentary on the first Anuvaka of the seventh Prashna of the third Ashataka of the Taithiriya Brahmana, which contains practically the same mantra. A summarised translation of the Commentary is as follows :—

" On the day of the sacrifice, while the ceremonies are going on, the master's wife may have her monthly illness, which prevents her from continuing the ritual. In such a case half of the fruit is gone, for the privilege of offering the sacrifice is shared equally by the couple. As she does not perform her part of the work, only half of the work is done. She has to be sent out, and the husband has to go through his portion repeating the mantras that fall to his share. Three nights after this day, the husband should invite his wife for the sexual embrace, repeating the mantra, beginning with "Samaveda I am, Rigveda thou art &c., (amuham asmi, sa twam; Dyauraham Prithivi twam ; Samaham Rik twam ; tavehi sambhavana ; saha retodadhavahai ; pumse putraya vettavai rayas poshaya suprajastvaya suviryaya)

Explanation of the mantra :—" Taking the two Vedas, Rik and Sama, inasmuch as the Rigveda, which is thyself, occupies the first place, thou art superior to me. As I am Sama and as Sama occupies a subsequent inferior place, I am inferior to you. Taking Ethereal space and the solid earth, I am only the ethereal space, whilst thou art the solid earth. Thus art Rig Veda, while I am only Samaveda. The parts of Sama are all found in the Rigveda, and they fully correspond. As the parts of these two Vedas fit one another, let us unite our several organs which fit one another, and be born once more. Let us combine our two retuses (vital essences), as we both desire sons that are capable of begetting other sons, and as we desire also abundance of wealth."

Sayanacharya's Commentary points out the way to get at the full or real interpretation of the mantra which we are considering; and his naming it as the invitation for sexual embrace is most important and significant. The relations between the Rik and Sama Vedas are explained by him. Dyanh or Ethereal space has only one quality or attribute which is Sound, while the earth has five qualities or attributes, which are Sound, Touch, Form, Taste, and Smell. Mind or thought is invisible, which speech manifests. or gives expression to it. Retus is possessed only by the adult man, and for woman to become its bearer she must be grown up, and she must have attained puberty. In the light of the facts above-mentioned, the following may be given as the explanatory translation of the mantra under consideration :—

"Rigvada thou art, and as such the place of honour thou dost occupy, while I am Samaveda occupying only a subsequent place. As in the absence of the Rigveda, Samaveda has no place and no use, so in thy absence I dwindle into a mere nothing. I am ethereal space which has only the quality of sound, while thou art the earth which has no less than five qualities—sound, touch, form, taste, and smell. I am only retus, while thou art the bearer thereof.—When thou bearest it in thy womb, thou dost nourish it, making the child grow. Invisible mind or thought I am, while thou art speech, which maketh thought manifest. Samaveda I am, which after all is only a part or portion of the Rigveda, while thou art the Rigveda which is vastly more comprehensive. As the words or parts of the Samaveda coincide with those of the Rigveda, make thy resolve to beget children coincide with mine. To combine our retuses together to beget male children, to acquire wealth of tapas and wealth of progeny, O sweet-toned Lady, come thou now to me.' It is plain that this mantra can have no other significance attached to it than that of an invitation for sexual embrace, make an attempt by some sort of sophistry to give it some other meaning, and see for yourself how futile the attempt proves. The context makes the attempt impossible for the following reasons :—

(a) In the Panigrahana ceremony the bridegroom has said 'I take thy hand for begetting satvic progeny."

(b) In another mantra he has said :—"May Pavamana make thee have me constantly in thy mind."

(c) In the Saptapada Prarthana he has prayed for the seven essential things of this earthly life, (*d*) In the succeeding Pradhāna homa the couple have jointly to pour oblations into the sacrificial fire, praying for satvic children, which evidently is not possible unles he has previously invited her for the sexual embrace, and she has tacitly agreed to it.

Now I invite all fair minded men and women to consider whether it is not a great sin to invite an immature girl for the sexual embrace! It is to be remembered that the tense used is the present, not the future. Any attempt to make it yield a meaning having reference to the future, will necessitate the postponement of the Pradhāna homa which cannot be done without making the marriage ceremony incomplete.

There are several authorities who clearly and unequivocally define the marriageable age, of whom the following may be mentioned :—

(1) Medhatithi, while commenting on Manu Smriti ch. 9, Sloka 90, says :—Pragritoh kanyayah nadanam—no girl should be given away in marriage before she attains puberty.

(2) Vashistha in his Dharma Shastra, ch. 17, sutras 67-68, says :— wait for three years after puberty and then secure a suitable embrace.

(3) Harita in his Smriti, ch. 4., says :—Sarvavayava Sampurnam Smrittam Udvahennarah—men ought to marry women whose organs are all fully developed ; and who are of good character.

In this connection it may be pertinent to mention that in a Kannada book, I have published on this subject entitled the Samskaras of Women, I have adduced high authorities to prove (1) that marriage is not Upanayana, and therefore cannot confer dvijahood ; (2) that women should have Upanayana and Adhyayana before marriage ; and (3) that pre-puberty marriages are shastraically invalid.

The book was purposely written in a provocative tone to elicit written replies. It has been brought to the knowledge of several of the heads of Mutts during the past three years, but all of them have shirked all written pronouncements. My own guru, His Holiness of the Vyasaraya Mutt, after a written correspondence extending over two years, orally said to me :—" Your questions do not concern this mutt alone. If you can convince the three mutts and the three sects, you may infer that we also have accepted your conclusions." This shows that His Holiness is not prepared to face the questions on their own merits. The leading Pandits of the Mysore Palace as well as scores of other Pandits have done me the honour of accepting my conclusions, and some of them are even prepared to refute all objections that may be shastraically raised !

In matters of social reform the leaders of the community should take courage and set the example, and the multitude are sure to follow it. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Shastriar's Post-Puberty Marriage Bill is only a permissive measure, while the authorities quoted above make Post-Puberty Marriage obligatory. I trust that the Madras Legislative Council will not weak minded as to pay undue heed to the clamours of the ignorant multitude. Infant marriages have already undermined, and are rapidly under-mining the health and strength of the Brahmin population; and in the opinion of most fair-minded people no time should be lost in legally abolishing them for ever. A sound mind in a sound body is the indispensible condition of all economic progress. A baby-born race surely spells national ruin. Pre-puberty marriage is, I believe, a violation of Vedic injunction. No Government ought to rest content with the mere lip-loyalty of the so-called orthodox party to the Vedas, as it is the sacred duty of Government to put down evil practices, if evil they are proved to be. Enough time has been given to the orthodox community to work from within its social regeneration, and as it has failed to affect any reform, it is, I think, the function and duty of Government to save the community from further degeneration by the legal prohibition of pre-puberty marriages; and as a step towards this goal, Mr. Srinivasa Shastriars Post-Puberty Marriage Bill should, I think, be passed without any further loss of time. In the matter of the abolition of *Suttee*, the Government of India did not wait until the ignorant multitude came round to its own view.

Is it not necessary that Mysore, which has taken the lead in many movements, should also introduce into its own Legislative Council a Bill similar to that of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Shastriar's, and pass it into law, forestalling the Government of Madras?

* * *

Eugenics and its Relation to Social Reform.

By Mr. P. PARTHASARTHI AIYENGAR, B. L.

THE subject of Social Reform has been long on our lips. For fifty years at the least in the past the young and old have been conjuring with the term. It has been the bye-word for a good deal of anethema. Many an anxious race was run in the pursuit of its real significance. It was an illusive cloud-land above the life of our race and the learned and unlearned, the experienced old and the raw student just out of his teens were equally chasing after the cloud. It was a chase indeed after a cloud that to them did not materialise. It was all a rainbow, to gather many a sightseer and glib talker. The terra firma below was forgotten in the world of frothy verbiage. It was all a dark cave whereto hundreds turned their steps in the hope of finding the divining rod, or the philosophers' stone or it was a dream land where they fancied they could discover the millennium or construct an Utopia. It was not uncommonly a pandemonium where the ignorant bigot, the superstitious mystic and the iconoclast all danced a waltz around a figure or phantom they did not understand.

There was a meeting of two luminous bodies in the firmament of this country that attracted and charmed the peoples below. There was a meteor of scintillating sppearance in the atmosphere of two civilizations which met and which inebriated the onlookers below. In fact there was the meeting of two civilizations of different types. The geniuses of the East and the West met and caused a flutter and a confusion, a bustle which took many decades to give way to the calm unruffled flow of the stream of real scientific knowledge and appreciation. The people drank the waters of the first freshes with their impurities and surface accretions. It took many decades for the people to understand the real thing, they were groping for the real knowledge that was their desideratum. The veil was thrown aside and the misty glamours of falsehood evaporated at the touch of the sunshine of truth.

Social Reform was the golden toilet with which every conceived and conceivable evil was exorcised or thought they could exorcise. It was thought that the emedying of a particular evil or discomfort in the great social organism, society, constituted social reform. They attempted to cure a disease without improving the powers of resistance in the organism to disease. They cared and thought about the mass improvement without caring for the individual units. They dabbled in politics and nationalities when their own nationality was in a nebulous condition. They lived in glass houses, and threw stones randomly about.

When particular evils are studied and traced to their causes and causes again to their root causes, it would be manifest that the physical, mental and moral constitution of the individual persons behind is defective. If women were in an inferior social condition or if there were unhappy young widows and unhealthy children, it was because society consisted of men who plucked flowers before they had blossomed, who would prevent the souls of their womenkind from blooming into worthy co-partnership, who would complacently look at them, trailing behind with their swaddling clothes of superstition, cowardliness, and ignorance, or are not persons who have not understood or tried to understand the rationale of marriage and marital relationship, and have contracted girl marriages and bred up a race of babies. There would not be enough vitality in the race if the generations that are born are weak and born to weak parents ; there would not be enough intellectual growth and moral stamina if the parents are themselves miserable dregs of society, who are suffering from imbecility, idiocy or weakness of mind. There would not be ideal wives and ideal mothers if marriages are not the outcome of real love but are marriages of convenience. Thus social reform aims at not the eradication of a particular evil or evils but the propagation of a healthy and virile progeny

Social Reform aims at the study of the causes, the root-principles of national hygiene. It learns the scientific truths relating to the genetic growth of organisms the laws of heredity, the psychology of emotions and the responsibilities of civic life. The ancient conception of society as consisting of the four castes with their traditional genesis respectively from the face, arms, thighs and feet of Brahma the Creator connotes the existence and the conception of a racial organism whose healthy activities within itself and those in its contact with other races should be the subject matter of our devoted study. Social reform therefore aims at producing those circumstances or conditions which facilitate the production of the best type of humanity. On the crests of successive waves of evolution have appeared from time to time several types of humanity with varying degrees of strength and vitality and varying features and virtues. Those that had disappeared give us new lessons for our guidance, point out the moral for our future, and we are bound to mould our present lives in a such manner that the coming generations would point out us with pride for their heredity and ancestry as the cause of their greatness.

The social reformer therefore not only gathers to himself a harmonious household, a wife who would be his worthy co-adjutor, children who would stand the severest struggle for existence with capacity to assert themselves under any circumstances, but he would go out and direct the keeping of proper roads, proper public institutions, proper educational seminaries ; he would attend his own parliament and see that equal chance for success is given to all citizens ; he would be a legislator and make laws for prevention of infection of healthy persons, for the prevention of propagation of unhealthy children and due protection of healthy infants.

If that is the aim of Social Reform Eugenics gives us the guiding principles, the stern facts of science, the laws of heredity of physiology and psychology, the wisdom of the history of the growth and decay of nationaltics and suggests practical steps for the realization of the end in view, namely the propagation of a higher humanity.

The term Eugenics sound strange. Its etymology has a history. It was first invented by Sir Francis Galton who at first meant by that science the study of the stirps or stumps which he called stirpiology. Later on he called it Eugenics. The study of the individual for learning the laws of heredity was itself a new chapter in the history of science. Darwin and Mendel and Burbank made special studies of the growth and propagation of plantlife and laid down certain laws of heredity which cleared the ground of a lot of misapprehension. Later on the life of individual men and women and individual families were closely studied and their nature noted with special reference.

to their parentage and pedigree. Eugenics means simply the good race, and therefore it shortly means and includes all that concerns the study of race propagation. It might look that we are talking profanity when we say that we can regulate and that it is entirely in our power to regulate the propagation of a desired type of humanity. Scientific research has discovered that granted a selected male and a female parent and their co-habitation, it is possible to predicate the nature of offspring they will bring forth This is the resultant of the researches of Mendel whose deductions called Mendaline laws are well known. These scientific researches have altogether disabused us of our previous notions of a good deal of mystery and divinity centering around the phenomenon of birth and death and of parentage.

Eugenics believes that it is possible for humanity to evolve better and better typed races in the future until it is possible to evolve the best perfected type of mankind. The idea is not altogether Utopian, though some believe we are drifting back to paganism and barbarism. We believe in those optimists who hold that in spite of rising military budgets and increase of armaments we are slowly evolving into a great brotherhood. The theosophists believe in the coming of a new species of humanity in the distant but certain future. In fact in our own Shastras we find similar prognostications for the several Yugas. Though we could not limit that time as Mr. Leadbeater does and be so positive in regard to time and space, the ideal has our hearty approval. But that must only be possible if eugenic principles are adopted. The same idea was prophesied by Frederic Neitzsche the pioneer of eugenics in Germany and a contemporary of Sir Francis Galton. He thought that the ideal of eugenics was the creation of a most perfected type of man to whom he gave the name of Ubermensch or in English Superman. It was perhaps this ideal type that Shakespeare had in view when he closed his tragedy of Julius Ceaser with these brilliant lines. "And the elements were so mixed in him that Nature might stand up and say to all the world this is a man." Clear traces of the eugenic idea is to be found even among the ancient philosophers. Plato imagined in his Republic that the chosen persons who should form the governing body in his Utopian state should not be allowed to mate even without marriage except under regulation and guidance from the class as a whole. Plato suggested a clever system of selection of temporary mates by means of lot. When the chosen mates should beget children they must be taken away from their parents and brought up by nurses, and if they were of good quality they were to be given the kind of training and instruction that would make them efficient successors to their parents. Eugenics is not a new idea in our country, though as a distinct science it never existed. The eugenic principles seem to have been the unseen threads in the loom of Indian Social polity. Indian sages seem to have had them in view when they made laws for the country. They disliked marriage and procreation by unhealthy persons, by persons affected by congenital disease and they laid down that they shall not marry or inherit property but shall be entitled to bear sustenance. They had knowledge of the laws of heredity as affecting procreation and progeny and in fact seemed to have foreseen what Mendel and Darwin discovered centuries later. They therefore laid down that Sapindas and Sagothras shall not marry and fixed degrees of consanguinity within which marriage shall be prohibited. Transitions of turmoil there were in this country and eras of unrest owing to foreign invasions when the race was threatened with disppearance, but the Indian sages at once stepped in and made laws suitable for new conditions with a view to race perpetuation. If they laid down early marriage or prohibited widow remarriage it was to meet certain critical conditions in its life and entirely to overcome them and enable the Society to go on working smoothly so that stability of the society might be assured.

Eugenics essentially belongs to the period of scientific culture in modern world. We have evolved from the dominance of theology to the mystery of metaphysics and then into the positivism of modern science, and therefore it is no wonder that the science of eugenics, relying as it does on the hard facts of positive science, belongs to this last period. The nebulous ideas of eugenics were shaped into a grand structure of science only after the discovery of the laws of heredity. Sir Francis Galton gave an idea of eugenics first in the year 1884, but it was shoved oft to the limbo of oblivion and after a period of twenty years the flower of the British intellectual aristocracy requested him to read a paper on the subject and thenceforward he interested himself in the subject so much that he gave up all his property to found a chair of eugenics in the University of London. The subject was ardently taken up since in America, and several states have even interfered with and did legislate on marital relationships and the like. Several questions arise for consideration for the eugenist.

i. Is it necessary that there should be legislation on the choice of marriage, and is it effective in preventing undesirable sex-relationships ;

ii. What are the practical steps to be taken to prevent undesirable procreation.

iii. Is it wise and possible to interfere with the liberty of our love and other instincts ;

iv. What should be done to encourage propagation of strong and healthy children and prevent infant mortality among them.

All seem to be agreed on the necessity of state interference and in the state affording such protection to the infants and to the mothers in their maternity period. It is true that in the west the number of unmarried persons is growing, and begetting children is viewed as an encumberance. Infant mortality is highest among the issues of weak parents and their birth rate is also equally high. How are we to prevent the propogation of such weaklings? Once there is marriage the problem of preventing propagation seems to call forth all the horrors of the old Malthuseanism. Sir Francis Galton believed that love is an instinct that is amenable to dictates of knowledge and truth. Love is not blind, but is regulated by considerations of prestige, social status, wealth and politics and what not. Regarding encouragement of healthy progeny it is proposed that the State should give succour to mothers in the maternity period and give food and clothing to the infants for sometime after birth.

Whether it is intended that the above remedies and assistance should be rendered in public houses and institutions or in the very homes of the subjects they would be in vain if the womankind do not cherish high ideals of womanhood and cultivate the virtues that will make them harmonious and ideal wives and mothers. In fact this is the growing problem in the West that Miss Ellen Key of Sweden has set to herself to solve. She hates the unfeminine nature of the Western women and calls their attention to the decay of the race as result of their unwomanly habits and dislike of parentage.

The problems are different in India. We have fortunately an excellent material in our women. Their virtues are the envy of the western world. But they are in a disadvantageous position still and for want of enough culture seem to be millstones round our necks instead of sources of inspiration, encouragement and intelligence. They are born to weak parents, are bred up by superstitious mothers and themselves again are wrested from the sunshine of knowledge and culture at a too early period and are saddled with family life when they are still ignorant of the purpose and true sphere of marital life, become mothers when they are unable to discharge the responsibilities of motherhood. I say the problem here is entirely different ; this is not the country of the old spinsters and bachelors but a country whose people seem to be bent upon baby producing. If the state in the west regrets the falling off in the number of married persons, the lateness of marriage, the unwillingness to propagate, the increase of prostitution owing to monogamy and so on, here we have to regret, the undue anxiety for every man to marry, and propagate, early marriages and motherhood, enforced widowhood and so on. There the state wants to pay for propagation and punish bachelors by imposing heavy penalties and taxation. In fact Neitzsche's suggestions would seem astounding and outrageous to our sense of freedom. He suggested “ a supertax on inherited property and a longer term of military service for bachelors, (ii) privileges of all sorts for fathers who contribute a numerous male offspring to the community and perhaps plural votes as well, (iii.) lease hold marriages for a term of years or months (with) adequate provision for children) as a counter-agent to prostitution, (iv, prohibition of offspring to the unfit. Regarding the last of his suggestions he said : There are cases where to have a child was a crime, *e. g.*, for chronic invalids and extreme neurasthenics. One of the regular symptoms of exhausted stock is the inability to exercise any self-restraint in the presence of stimuli and the tendency to respond to the smallest sexual attraction. In such cases the priest and the moralist play a hopeless game. It is a question for the doctor. Society has here a positive duty to fulfil and of all the demands that are made on it, there are few more urgent and necessary than this one. Society should in many cases actually prevent the act of procreation and may without any regard for rank, descent or intellect hold in readiness the most rigorous forms of compulsion and restriction, and under certain conditions have recourse to sterilisation ” (From Max Milian A. Mugges work on Neitzsche). If that is the demand of eugenics in the West, in India we want the state to punish early marriage, prevent and punish undesirable procreation and enforced widowhood. We want the state to aid us by legalising inter-subcaste marriages and post puberty marriages. In India the question still arises : shall we be free from the evils of Western civilisation, if we legalised post-puberty marriages and women from enforced widowhood of the present ? There is no misapprehension of the kind, as we see that post-puberty marriages and widow remarriages are in fact obtainable in several classes of the peoples of India.

Eugenics deals with the problems of criminals and derives knowledge from the science of criminology. It desires to know whether the theory that criminals are born parasites which poison the society, is true or whether criminals are criminals because of the social conditions that compel them to become such. What constitutes the criminal ? What are we to do with them ? How are we to reclaim them ! Is it not better to sterilise them and prevent procreation ? Professor Lombroso, Marnardeau and Havelock Ellis afford interesting materials for study. We believe it is possible to reclaim criminals and in fact America has established institutions where instead of punishing them they are educated into proper citizens. Eugenics zealously guards the healthy from the infection of persons suffering from dangerous diseases. And in spite of some theorists who believe that there is no use in allowing diseased persons to remain in the world, but that they might rather die and be weeded out, eugenics does not believe that these persons would be useless and unworthy even after they are cured of the same and check their procreation if necessary. Eugenics concerns itself with the study of insanity, idiocy, weamindedness of parentage and tries to prevent such parents from procreating. It might be that insanity and idiocy etc., are the outcome of poverty and neglect of infants. Or it might be they are the result of indiscriminate sexual intercourse. Anyhow this is an interesting phase of the study of eugenics.

The laws of divorce afford another matter for discussion. If it is necessary to enforce by all means restrictions in the matter of marriage choice and procreation, it is also necessary to give more freedom in the matter of divorce. Professor Fred Neitzsche's suggestion of a lease hold marriages for a term of years or.........months seems to be obnoxious to our minds unaccustomed to divorce. We shall not touch any further on this subject as that teems with too many difficulties in India. These are some of the matters that arise in the study of eugenics. It is clear how inter-related are social reform and eugenics. Our responsibility has increased enormously. We have to exercise all our powers of ostracism and social condemnation to see that the baneful practices are not in vogue, to see that unhealthy marital relations are not contracted and that unhealthy children are not procreated. And with this end in view it might be useful to seek the co-operation of law for as President Roosevelt has said "it is the best form; in which the unified public opinion can find expression."

A Phase of the Social Purity Movement in Bombay.

By Mr. KRISHNA LAL M. JHAVERI.

THE Social Service League of Bombay is a unique institution; very few, if any, such institutions exist in India. It has been the outcome of the beneficent and surplus energies of men like Mr. Devdhar and his companion—servants of India, under whose unremitting directions and guidance it works. Night schools, free travelling libraries, domestic sanitation, education of the poor, and many other objects calculated to bring light and air into the slums—physical and mental—of Bombay, is part of its comprehensive programme. Its work meets with increasing success every year. This short contribution is however concerned with only one phase of its successful programme, and its purpose is to draw the attention of other places to its commendable work and to set them thinking whether they can follow Bombay.

The Saturnalia of the Hindus called the Holi festival in some and the Shunga in the other parts of India, is an example of the complete reversal of the mode of observance of an institution—originally meant to be for the expression of innocent pleasure and joy at the manifestation of a certain change in the state of physical nature,—due to a gradual and progressive misunderstanding brought about by various means. Men become beasts, and behave during these three days no better than monkeys. The dung hill and the muck heap furnish them with the instruments of pleasure, and they literally wallow in filth, filth not merely of the gutter but of the mouth. It is a wonder why men and in many cases women, ordinarily well behaved and the pattern of sobriety so far lose control over themselves as to indulge in obscenities of language and conduct. This abnormal state of circumstances can be explained only by referring it to the deep seated reverence of the Hindu for everything—both decent and indecent proclaimed to be enjoined—or even to put it at its lowest—allowed by religion. Those living in Northern and Central India are fully aware of the enormous lengths to which public obscene conduct is licensed in these days, and Gujarat, Kathiawar and parts of the Deccan are equally criminal in this matter. The Marwari and the Bhaiya are the worst offenders, and they are allowed—or rather they take—the full liberty of the roads, streets and lanes in the Holi holidays. No woman or man is safe from their disgusting behaviour, and no one heeds the complaints—not even the Police against their obscene inroads made against his or her persons, apparel, or ear. Modesty—male and female—is at a discount, indeed there could be none, where language fouler than that of Billingsgate and signs and gesticulations which would rival those of a street full of brothels are the order of the day.

It is this Augean stable of filth that the Holika Sammelan Committee of the Social Service League in Bombay has undertaken to clean, and for the last four or five years it has been doing this work in a whole-hearted manner. The line of work selected is that of least resistance. Persuasive means are used in such a way as to imperceptibly educate the offenders. No aggressiveness on the part of the workers—all of them volunteers—is allowed, and very little of speechifying or giving of sermons or homilies is indulged in, punitive action—by calling in the aid of the Police or authorities is specially avoided, as the ultimate object of the movement is to take the uneducated masses into the confidence of the workers and point them out the error of their ways. For the present the *modus operandi* is to select some of the worst centres, where the delinquents foregather, and divert their attention by means of counter-movements, such as would keep them away from their impure work or mischief-making tendency. Magic lantern and cinema shows, feats of legerdemain, Nataks (dramas) and Ramlilas, music, phonographs, sports, wrestling, singing of songs by school boys, kathas, kirtanas, and reading of the Puranas, and like other modes of enjoyment such as would suit the condition of each individual centre are provided, and there is at least one tangible result witnessed there and then *viz.*, that at least for the time being, that huge concourse of people—at some centres they number one thousand to two—is kept out of the way of mischief. But for the counter-attraction, that large mass of mill hands, and labourers, and gowlies, and their *confreres* would have been indulging in all the sports of the gutter. It is estimated that in the worst plague spots of Bombay, nearly twenty-five to thirty thousand people are thus reached and rendered harmless. The work done is entirely voluntary, and a happy augury is the association and active sympathy of some of the leaders of the backward classes, who spontaneously come forward to arrange all the details of meetings in their locality and control and coax their men. It really heartens all to see them working so actively and entering into the spirit of the thing. The movement no doubt lost something, but even there the public spirit of Bombay comes to the rescue of the workers, The work is divided into local and supervisory. The men on the spot who know the temper and tastes of the men in their locality frame a suitable programme, and members of the supervisors committee move about in motors from centre to centre, and keep watch over the work, at the same time encouraging the workers. One further happy sign of the propaganda having appealed to the hearts of the classes for whom it is intended is the association of the Marvadi Community with it. This year they too have provided counter-enjoyments, and their leaders are working in active league with the other members. As a result they have been able to considerably abate the nuisance, and minimise the mischief of their brethren, who contributed a very large share to the uncleanliness of the life led during the celebration of the festival. The results they have been able to shew till now bid fair to make their co-operation still more telling and effective; even this year, the streets were considerably less noisy and less offensive to the ear. However, what has till now been done is not even a tithe of what has to be done. The movement has spread to several provincial towns in Gujarat, and the Deccan, and that is indeed a very cheerful prospect; but in Bombay itself there should be no rest and there would be none, till a network of centres is established so connected that from end to end, during the Holi festival, the eye may see and the ear may hear, nothing that is not pleasant, decent and inoffensive.

"Honour, Obligations and Interests."

By Mr. VITHALDAS K. BHUTA.

WHILE explaining the causes of England's entry into the war, the most prominent British statesmen declare, with an amount of truth and sincerity that she has to fight with Germany, "*For Honour, Obligations and Interests*. But we may ask, are these fundamental 'principles of '*honour, obligations and interests*,' "*always*" observed by the state, in its policy towards the Indian industries? We would hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative, having in mind the bitter memories of trade rivalry between Lancashire and Indian Cotton Industry, and the state being always partial to Lancashirewallas at the expense of the Indian. Germany calculated many things in this war, not the least of them being the unrest in India, and her action was justified by the attitude of the Anglo-Indian Press, just before the outbreak of the war. But whatever the tendency of the poisonous Tory Press, which magnified the unrest in India and represented her as a seething volcano, the existence of widespread anarchy and chaos supposed in their glowing descriptions of the Indian mind, and the highest pitch of distrust, suspicion and hatred towards the Indians raised by the unfair and one-sided articles of men like Sir Valentine Chirol, notwithstanding all these, India, when the occasion demanded, *proved by deeds*, instead of by words, *her unflinching loyalty to the British Throne*. India was ready to help the Empire, in its hour of need and her support was very valuable, because it was, *spontaneous, ungrudging, unasked for and unconditional*.' The Prince and the people of India rallied to the cause of the Empire, with one voice and one sentiment. A splendid army of tried warriors, from among the most chivalrous races of India, '*the Sikhs, the Gurkhas and the Rajputs*,' was promptly sent to help the English army, for fighting a dangerous and powerful enemy, for the sake of justice, humanity and righteousness, for helping the weak nations of Europe, for upholding the neutrality of brave Belgium, for fulfilling England's treaty obligations, and for the preservation of her national interests. I am not going to question the justice of her cause: all the world has given its opinion in her favour. But, what I want to impress upon the minds of the readers is this, that the case of the *swadeshi* industries of India, does require greater attention and greater practical help, than has hitherto been rendered to them by the state. We would like to buy cheaper articles from foreign countries, that is true. But what is more desirable? Should we be dependent—almost without future hope—on foreign goods, or should we be progressing with a reasonable pace in the march of the world industrial progress and manufacture most of the articles of necessity, in our own land?

It is said that India has not resources, that she has not the skilled labour, which forms an integral part in making a successful industry, that she has not the requisite capital, and that she has not the skilful chemists and mechanics, to run the most modern factories, on a successful basis and all this may be true, but what then? Does it not show a very serious state of things? Does it not prove without a shadow of doubt, India's economic helplessness? In the words of the late Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade "The political domination of a country by another attracts far more attention than *the more formidable though unfelt domination which the Capital, enterprise and skill of one country exercise over the trade and manufactures of another*. This latter domination has an insidious influence which paralyses the springs of all the varied activities which together make up the life of a nation." If we compare the figures of India's trade with foreign countries twenty-five years back and now, it will reveal a sad state of things. Indian exports of manufactures, hardly rise in comparison with her total exports. While her imports of manufactured goods rise with an amazing rapidity, her exports of raw materials, which go to make up those very articles, are increasing by leaps and bounds. Are we to understand that these amazing advances of trade, adds to the material wealth of the country, and that it relieves the state of India's economic helplessness in any way? We cannot have the same opinion. We pay for the transport of raw goods to distant countries, pay for skilled European labour and capital, pay the merchants' and manufacturers' profits as well as for the freights of those goods in a refined state back to India. Surely, looking to all these things, we have to pay at least thrice or four times the value of the goods, that we export from our own country, to be manufactured and brought back again into this country in a rather different form. There is a spark of truth in the words of Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji, the great Bengali patriot, that the recent dacoities in Bengal were more economic than political. It is true that the Indian village industries that flourished a generation or two ago, are now in a wholly decadent condition, with little hope of rising again. People have to fall back upon the one and only source of maintenance *i.e.*, agriculture, a very unsteady and unreliable means of making ones livelihood. The ryot has to fall back upon the money-lender to maintain himself even in times of good season. The agriculturist, though apparently thriving, on account of the high prices ruling in the land, on account of the exports of the raw produce to the European countries, has to incur greater expenses all the year round and has to pay greater wages to the labourers, so that he is left poorer at the end. The *Banias* and the middle-class people in the villages depending upon the agriculturists for their maintenance are hardly better off. Every one is forced, by the nature of circumstances, to buy foreign articles, Indian made goods being rarely seen in the market. The exploitation of India, by European manufactures, has progressed with remarkable rapidity. Germany, too, had begun to take the fullest possible advantage of trade opportunities with India, by her bold but dangerous policy. For us, says Bernhardi, 'there are but two alternatives and no third world—dominion or ruin.' His advice to Germany is very remarkable; "The war against English commerce must......be boldly and energetically prosecuted, and should start unexpectedly. Strangling England's commerce must be the first step towards spreading German "*Culture*" and German "*Civilization*." War against England's trade, was to be carried on as a great national cause. Markets of the world were successfully exploited by German manufacturers. British goods were ousted even from the markets of the British Empire. 'The predomniance of German goods over British was in no way due to quality, it was rather due to cheapness. The Germans were thorough in their methods of capturing the world's markets. German science and business enterprise combined with cheap German labour, an attention to cheapness rather than to quality, business advertisements through properly selected channels in the world's press, which is sure to bring in world-wide demands for the consumption of the goods. These were some of the principal factors that were made the fullest possible use of bythe Germans. In this world-wide expansion of German goods, India had to suffer in the matter of unfair competition. Germans and most of the European manufacturers got direct and indirect facilities from the state. The freight rates of steamers from the European ports and those of Indian Railways, were always in favour of European manufacturers. Indian goods, though better in quality, were not so well advertised as their European competitors. It was said in the Imperial Legislative Council: "One of the obstacles which stand in the way of development of Indian industries is the lack of enterprise on the part of manufucturers in pushing their goods; their tendency is to hide their light under a bushel, while their competitor places his on the hill-tops and so far as his conscience permits surrounds it with magnifying lenses." This was said by the Commerce Member in the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, while explaining the position taken by the Government, in regard to Indian Industries. Those firms in India, which were short of articles which they used to import from Germany or Austria, have discovered for the first time through the exhibition that those articles are being produced in India and in one case even in the same town without their knowing it. England is in the race of industrial expansion, for generations past, that is true. But, the member for Commerce and Industry deliberately expounds before us a policy of inaction and inertia, by explaining to us that "*It is not essential for us to make ourselves self-supporting so long as England is able to produce and supply to us the articles which we require.*" This is a very dangerous policy for India, though it may be all right for England. Not that the Government should help the foreign manufacturers at the expense of the Indian, they must co-operate with the people heart and soul to revive those Indian industries, which have a possibility of competing successfully of course in their own land—with their foreign rivals and Hon. Mr. Clark, member for Commerce and Industry, said that Indian capital was shy and that the Government cannot lock up large sums in industrial enterprises especially in times of such financial strain. It is all very well to evade a responsibility, which the Government naturally may not be willing to incur, but the policy of the Government with regard to Railways, does not justify their throwing cold water on Indian aspirations. Though there is a deficit of nearly 5 crores and 75 lacs of Rupees in the next year's Budget, the Government have thought fit to provide, 12 crores of Rupees, for capital expenditure on Railways, the canals hardly getting ⅛th of that amount, though the latter are very valuable especially in a agricultural country like India. For this capital expenditure on Railways amounting to 12 crores of Rupees, the Government will raise money by Rupee and sterling Loans, and then the capital won't be '*shy*'. There are ways, if there be the '*will*,' but the *will* is lacking both on the part of the state as well as of the people. As Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla declared in the Council, we want something more than the *advice* and the *information*. It is high time, that the Government should co-operate with the people in starting those industries, which have a chance of success, if properly organized and conducted. We have to shake off our old easy going methods, if we want to rise as a nation. "*Honor, Obligations and Interests*" require us to awake to a sense of duty in the matter of our economic revival, and to achieve that end we must introduce those methods of industrial progress, which have made the Nations of Europe so rich and powerful. India has a brilliant past before her. She used to send her manufactures to the markets of Central Asia, Europe and Africa, after providing for her own needs. It was the advance of applied science and machinery together with the unfair competition with the more powerful European manufacturers that the ancient industries of India have been displaced by foreigners from every land. There are certain industries like Sugar refining, Iron and Steel Industry, Leather Industry, Oils, Chemicals and Candle manufacturing Industry, which might be taken in hand profitably. So, if Government really want to help India, in her economic revival, they must render to them every assistance in their power, financial and otherwise, and should give their valuable co-operation, in successfully starting new and promising industries. Then and then only, they will have discharged their duty towards India. That will be a glorious day for India, when "*Honour, Obligations and Interests*" require the Government to come to the aid of Indian Industries and pave the way for India's economic regeneration.

The Spring Festival in Bengal.

By Mr. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

In countries which are subject to a severe winter, the whole of inanimate and animate nature seems to die on the advent of that season. The sweet and tender herbage, which clothes the meadows and the mountain-sides, dries up. The trees shed their green leaves; the flowers that deck the gardens and the green fields wither away under the nipping influence of the cold. Even the furred and feathered denizens of the fields and forests become mute as if out of sympathy for the death of Nature as betokened by the disappearance of all trace of greenery from the face of the earth. The cattle cease to low and the sheep to bleat. The feathered songsters, which render the groves and woodlands musical with their carols, no longer warble their 'woodnotes wild.' Some of them, especially the cuckoo

"————Fliest the vocal vale
An annual guest in other lands,
Another spring to hail."

The bees, which "improve each shining hour" by flitting from flower to flower and collecting their sweet food, confine themselves within their over-brimmed honey-combs. Nowhere has the death of Nature during winter been more graphically described than in the following exquisite dirge by Shelley:—

"The warm sun is failing, the bleak wind is wailing,
The bare boughs are sighing, the pale flowers are dying;
And the year
On the earth her death-bed, in a shroud of leaves dead,
Is lying.
Come, Months, come away,
From November to May,
In your saddest array,——
Follow the bier
Of the dead, cold year,
And like dim shadows watch by her sepulchre."

"The chill rain is falling, the nipt worm is crawling,
The rivers are swelling, the thunder is knelling,
For the year;
The blithe swallows are flown, and the lizards each gone—
To his dwelling.
Come, Months, come away;
Put on white, black, and gray;
Let your light sisters play;
Ye, follow the bier
Of the dead, cold year,
And "make her grave green with tear on tear."

But as the chilling blasts of winter blow out, the snow melts away from the frost-bound country-side, and the sun gets stronger and warmer, the earth opens her bosom, as it were, to the genial sunshine, all her veins feel its invigorating influence, all her latent leaves and blossoms become instinct with a sudden flush of life which causes them to burst forth from the bare boughs and the naked brown ground. What was lately bare and brown becomes draped with tender greenery. From what was till recently dead and desolate spring up varied forms of life and beauty, as if under the touch of the magic wand of an enchanter who seems to walk unseen with giant strides over the whole countryside. Everything betokens that defunct Nature is coming to life again. Every sight and sound indicates the advent of spring. A universal gladness, a general joy sensibly pervades every creature inanimate and every object in inanimate nature. Every blade of grass sparkles in the genial sunshine.

"And each small and waving shoot
Promises sweet flowers and fruit."

The woods and the meadow smile with gladness. The very silence of the heavens, now resplendent with the brilliant sunshine and the mellow star-light, and the dead stillness of the landscape till lately white with its shroud of snow, are broken by the notes of joy and gladness which greet the ears on every side.

Where can we catch lovelier glimpses of resurrected Nature, where can we hear sweeter echoes of the universal joy felt on the advent of spring, than in the following exquisite idyll of the old English poet Nash :—

Spring, the sweet Spring, is the year's pleasant king ?
Then blooms each thing, then maids dance in a ring,
Cold doth not sting, the pretty birds do sing,
Cuckoo, jug-jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo ?"

"The palm and May make country houses gay,
Lambs frisk and play, the shepherds pipe all day,
And we hear aye birds tune this merry lay,
Cuckoo, jug-jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo !"

"The fields breathe sweet, the daisies kiss our feet,
Young lovers meet, old wives a sunning sit,
In every street these tunes our ears do greet,
Cuckoo, jug-jug, pu-we, to-witta-woo !"
Spring, the sweet Spring !"

Not only have poets in all ages and in all lands celebrated, in song and lyric, the universal gladness felt in Spring on the rejuvenescence of dead Nature ; but the same general outburst of joy has also been enshrined in many a custom and myth. These customs and myths are embodied in what are known to students of cultural anthropology as Spring Festivals. These festivals were held among many ancient nations and are still celebrated among many modern races. Of the former, a typical example is afforded by the ancient Phœnicians who worshipped the Sun-god under the name of Adonis-Thammuz whose seat of worship was at Gebal. The lovely Sun-youth was loved by the goddess Baalath—the Phœnician prototype of the Greek goddess Beltis, the Chaldean Ishtar, the Canaanite Ashtoreth, but was taken from her by a sad accident. While he was hunting in the forests of Lebanon, he was gored to death by a savage boar sent by his inveterate enemy, Baal-Moloch, the Fiery. As he came by his death in the month of July in mid-summer, it has been consecrated by the Semitic races to the memory of the beautiful Sun-god. The river, that flows past Gebal, was named Adonis after him ; and tradition asserted that it ran red with the blood of the slaughtered god in the month of July. This tradition had its origin in the observation of a phenomenon, which actually happened, namely, that, during the hot weather, the red clay strata, through which the springs of the river Gebal gush out, become dry, crumble away. and are washed down by its waters. This beautiful fable symbolized the victory of the fierce and wicked Sun-god the Destroyer—over the beneficent Sun—the fair Spring-god, the bridegroom of Nature in her prime. The festival in honor of Adonis was held in early spring, when the Phœnician maidens mourned for their dead god, tore their hair and dresses, cried out that the god was dead, and called on his name. They made a wooden effigy of the dead god, clothed it in royal robes; anointed it with oil, performed over it the other rites for the dead, and placed it on a bier. They fasted strictly during the mourning period. The bier was, then, carried in procession, followed by the ever-increasing crowd who gave vent to loud lamentations. The dead god came to life again; and the god's resurrection was celebrated with equally extravagant demonstrations of joy.

We should now see whether any nation of modern Europe celebrates the Spring Festival. We find, in the course of our rapid survey of the world's literature of manners and customs, that in Germany, at the present day, the advent of Spring and the death of the long, dreary Winter is celebrated with much more merry-making and junketing than in any other part of the world. In certain parts of Westphalia, a ball of fire is rolled down from a hill. This is a vestige of the worship of the sun which was at one time prevalent throughout the world, for the fiery ball symbolizes the return of the sun to life—the resurrection of the Sun-god who had been killed by the frosts and the "furious winter's rages." It is said that in other parts of the same country, effigies of King Frost are publicly burnt while the celebrants of the Spring Festival dance and sing roundabout to the strains of the inevitable German band. Miss Marian Roalfe Cox says that this festival was, a few years ago, celebrated even in France, where a huge straw wheel was set alight with a torch and set rolling adown the hill-top. The wheel in this case also typified the sun which is called "fair wheel" in the Edda.

Next arises the question: Whether any such festival in honor of the advent of Spring is celebrated in any Oriental country? We should answer this question in the affirmative, for we find that the Spring Festival is solemnized in Bengal with proper rites and ceremonies. There it is celebrated under the designation of the Saraswati Puja. This worship of Saraswati—the goddess of learning—is held on the Sri Panchami Day or the fifth day of the lighter half of the Bengali month of Magh (January-February). The Hindus of Bengal believe that on this day comes off the vernal equinox (for which reason this fastival-day is also called *Basanta Panchami* or the "vernal fifth") and that from this day the spring season commences.

The goddess Saraswati is represented in Hindu art and literature as an exquisitely beautiful woman of a dazzling white complexion, gracefully dresesed in a *Sari* and bedecked with the jewels of a Hindu lady of rank. Her head is coroneted with a highly bejewelled tiara, while she holds in one hand a *vina* or the Indian guitar and a book in the other. She is seated on a full-blown white lotus, surrounded by unopened blossoms of the same magnificent flower, in the midst of a sheet of water, while graceful and snow-white swans are disporting themselves around. She symbolizes the beauty of resurrected Nature in spring. Just as all the graces of the ideally perfect woman in Wordsworth's beautiful poem "*She was a Phantom of Delight*" are drawn from the may-time and the cheerful dawn" similarly every phase of the goddess Saraswati's beauty and each and every of her accompanying paraphernalia typify the beauties of rejuvenated Nature, and the sights and sounds of the country-side in the leafy and flowery season of spring. Her dazzling white complexion, her beauty as that of water by starlight, symbolize the sunlit sky of speckless blue which is a concomitant of the spring weather throughout Northern India. Her lyre or *vina*, from which her deft fingers are evoking strains of divine music, typify the various delightful sounds which are heard in spring time in rural Bengal from the various feathered songsters of the grove. The lotuses represent the different kinds of beautiful flowers which bloom in spring. Thus the Saraswatī Pūjā is emphatically the Spring Festival of Bengal ; and by worshipping her the Hindus of Bengal pay their devoirs to the Spirit of Nature, as she is seen at her best in the springtime.

But she is worshipped in another capacity. She is worshipped as the goddess of learning and music, which rôle is indicated by the book and the *vīnā* in her hand. She is the tutelary goddess, the patron-saint of the students and the musicians. It is for this reason that students and all other persons who have to read and write in any other capacity have to abstain from reading and writing not only during the day on which the goddess is worshipped but also on the day next following that. Should it be urgently necessary to make a written communication, this is done with a piece of a chalk or charcoal on a black or white board. They have also to fast until the pūjā is finished on the first day of the worship. When the pūjā is over, the officiating priest summons the worshippers who, after performing their ablutions, gather round him and offer *anjati* (or floral offerings) to this lovely goddess. They do so while the priest, on their behalf, keeps on reciting the *mantra* praising her deityship and supplicating her for the boon of knowledge, both temporal and spiritual. The students clean their pens or reeds, scour the inkstands, strap up the books with pieces of new cloth and then place them before the feet of the goddess. The musicians also offer their musical instruments before her. There these implements of their vocations are streaked with vermilion and sandalwood-paste and bestrewn with white flowers and blades of young barley. Sometimes she is worshipped through the medium of these objects or of a jar of water. The books, pens, inkstands and musical instruments remain there until her image is removed and thrown into the water on the evening of the next day. The food-offerings offered to her deityship consist only of sweetmeats prepared from milk, sugar and clotted cream, and fruits. Among these latter are included the plums of the long and the round varieties. There is a quaint custom connected with these plums or jujubes (*Zizyphus jujuba*), which prohibits the eating thereof before the Saraswatī Pūjā comes off, even though these berries should come into season before the advent of this festival.

We must now discuss the question : Why is the eating of plums or jujubes (*kul*) tabooed until the advent of the Saraswatī Pūjā ? We will have to go far afield and search among the folklores of Europe for a reply to this question. It appears that, in the myth of the ancient Aryans, a red or golden egg symbolized the springtide sun or the beneficent sun which ushered in the leafy and flowery season of spring. In subsequent times, the early Christians made the golden-colored egg an emblem of Resurrection. This has given rise to the custom of preparing Easter eggs and many other curious practices connected therewith. Among these latter may be mentioned the fact that "in the household accounts of King Edward I, stands the following item against Easter Day : "Four hundred and a half of eggs, eighteen pence.." It is stated that the Pope gave an Easter egg in a silver case to Henry VIII, Miss Marian Roalfe Cox, at pages 31—32 of her excellent "*An Introduction to Folklore*" (Edition 1897), says :—"Quite recently Cheshire children begged (as is still the custom in the Midlands and in Scotland) for pace or pasch eggs (so called from the Hebrew word Pascha, meaning the Passover), which are usually boiled hard in water, stained with different dyes, red, blue, or violet, and otherwise ornamented. These eggs are sometimes hung up in the cottages till another year. In Yorkshire the coloured eggs are hidden out of doors in little nests, and the children hunt for them. In Swabia a hare is set on the nest, and the children find the hare's eggs. In past years, in our own country, if lads could do this, and bring it to the person of the parish of Coleshill, in Warwickshire, before 10 a. m. on Easter Monday, he was bound to give them "a calf's head, a hundred eggs, and a groat in money." In many parts of Germany eggs are made into cakes in the form of a hare. In England long ago the clergy men and choristers actually played at ball with Easter eggs as part of the service in church. Afterwards they retired for refreshments, including a gammon of bacon and a tansy pudding. Amongst other nations the Parsis used to distribute eggs, coloured bright red, at their spring festival."

From the mass of evidence adduced above, we see that eggs figure largely in connection with the celebration of the Spring Festival. Are we not, therefore, justified in holding that the globular—plums or jujubes, which ripen and assume a golden yellow color at about the time of the advent of the Saraswatī Pūjā, take the place, in Bengali custom, of the golden-colored Easter eggs of European and Parsee ritual ? Although the analogy between plums and eggs is slender, there is a tinge of plausibiliy in the suggestion made above. We may, therefore tentatively hold that the eating of plums or jujubes is forbidden until the Saraswatī Pūjā comes off, as the infringement of the prohibition may retard the advent of the spring-tide sun and for the matter of that, of that of the Spring Festival.

Another curious belief connected with the Spring Festival in Bengal is based on one of its popular names, namely, *Srī Panchamī.* It is believed by the common people that the crow, which is proverbial for the blackness of its color, steals, during the winter months, from human beings the glossiness of their skins on account of which purloining this avian thief looks sleek and shiny all through the cold weather and that it is on the *Srī Panchami* day that men recover the lost glossiness (*Srī*) of their skins from the pilfering crow which resumes its normal complexion.

One noteworthy fact connected with the Spring Festival is that the day on which it is held, namely, the fifth day of the lighter half of the month of Māgh (January—February) coincides with the particular date fixed for the commencement of spring in the Roman Calendar, *viz.*, the fifth of the Ides of February. Professor Wilson, in his "*Indian Antiquities,*" writes: "There is, both in Upper India and the Deccan, a festival on the fifth of the light half of Māgha, which is no doubt the original vernal feast of the fifth lunar day of Magha, marking the commencement of the season of Spring and corresponding, curiously enough, with the specific date fixed for the beginning of Spring in the Roman Calendar, the fifth of the Ides of February. After the *Basant Panchamī,* Kāma, the god of love, and his bride, Ratī, pleasure, are to be worshipped with offerings of fruit and flowers."

It will not be out of place to mention here that the Holi is also a comparatively modern modification of the festival which was held by the early Aryan settlers in India to celebrate the commencement of Spring. The principal incidents of the Holi festival, namely, the lighting of the fire, the shouting and singing, the sprinkling with red powder, the wild character of and the orgies connected with, the festival and the time of the year wherein it is celebrated—all these clearly indicate its connection with the Roman Spring Festivals, the Carnival and similar other celebrations held all ever the world. These latter, again are prototypes of some primitive Aryan festival and are nothing but the popular manifestations of joy at the signs of returning Spring and of departing winter—visible symbols of the hope revived in the people's hearts of an abundant harvest—a bumper yield of flowers and fruits in the sunnier and gladder times to come,

THE
Hindustan Review.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

MOTTO :—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies, ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by somebody else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the field of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is Sanity. Let Sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell, M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

A LITERARY CAUSERIE.

The Growth of the Philosophic Spirit in English Poetry.—I.

By Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B. L.

The scope of this essay is to trace the growth of philosophic conceptions in English poetry. In doing this I shall put aside all that savours of mere theology, that is to say, conceptions about the real nature of things derived not from the exercise of the poet's intuitive faculty, but from religious literature ; tricks that are not arrived at by the poet's gift of vision but which he assimilates from the religious atmosphere around him. He is a poet only in so far as he brings us his own gospel from his "mind's internal heaven," in so far as he is the bearer of a message from his own soul to the numerous souls around him thirsting for such message, unable by themselves to find the workings of the Divine within this world.

The earliest English poetry of which we have knowledge contains very little of philosophic value. In fact it will be expecting too much to find great philosophic conceptions therein. *Widsek*, *Beourelf*, *Waldhere*, *Fight at Finnsburgs and Deor's lament* deal with the simple incidents of life in olden times, and are valuable only as records of the social life in those remote ages. But even here we find the first faint beginnings of that philosophic insight for which English poetry is justly famous. In *Deor's Complaint*, the writer is a bard who is supplanted at court by another. He writes the poem to soothe his wounded feelings. He says "Melord (the Great Smith of the Eddas) and the King of the Goths suffered and bore their weird and so may I. The All Wise Lord of the world worketh many changes." Herein we see the first sign of that perception of the sense of tears in human things, which has always been such a noble characteristic of the best English poetry.

Coming down to the poetry produced after Christianity became the religion of the land, we see that the bulk of Anglo-Saxon poetry is entirely Christian in tone and definitely religious in subject. It consists mainly of paraphrases of the Bible and lives of Christian saints, and even here most of the works are translations from Latin originals. Hence the "monotony and want of first hand interest " in Anglo-Saxon poetry. This was inevitable. For the literature of this period was the literature of national childhood, and the writers had no vernacular models. Again, culture was confined to the clergy and the monasteries. The poetry of the period naturally bore the impress of their minds which were steeped in Christian lore, and which began their investigation of the truth of things with settled convictions and strove to embody them in verse. Also, from the fifth to the tenth century A. D. the tide of knowledge and thought steadily receded all over Europe. The 'Dark Ages' were rightly so named and the ignorance that prevailed then was appalling. Again, those times were times of fierce struggle for existence, and culture was conspicous by its absence. There did not exist that settled state of society and that general interest in spiritual matters which are the necessary pre-requisites for original poetic thought and composition, Further, it is well known that in the first few years of conversion to a new faith, it dominates the whole life of the convert; and religious zeal thinks no subject but religion worthy of attention. Owing to the operation of all of these causes, the main body of poetic literature in Anglo-Saxon times was sacred poetry, consisting of paraphrases from the Bible or poems directly based on them, lives of saints, and miscellaneous devotional work. Such poems as on Caedmon's works, Cynewulf's *Dream oj the Cross, Elene, Crest, Passion of St. Juhara* are not of any philosophic value, though they may be of some importance as theological literature. So we may say of the poetry produced in England down to the Norman Conquest, that there is no evidence in it of the philosophic spirit, and for the purposes of this essay, it may be put aside as of no interest.

Nor was there any striking change brought about by the Norman Conquest. We see prosodic changes, linguistic development, new subjects and new literary forms, but no philosophic insight. Layamon's *Brut* is as defective in this respect as Orm's *ormulun* or the *Poema Morale* : One feature of the literary life of this period is interesting. It is the existence of numerous renderings of the fantastic, mystical zoology which was so popular then. In these we see scriptural characters and virtues and vices introduced under the guise of birds and animals, and their actions are allegorically described. We may pass swifty over the various romances, metrical and alliterative, written during this period, for they are mostly translations or adaptations, and are mere narratives of the lives of real, mystical personages.

Proceeding to consider Chaucery and Post-Chaucerian poetry, we find, no doubt, that poetry has been freed from the theological fetters which bound it during the Anglo-Saxon and the early Norman periods, but there is no philosophic depth as yet. Even in the *Morning Star of Song* we do not find any subjective intensity, any attempt at finding out the truth of things. Though no one can help admiring his abundant humour the shaping faculty which enables him to make every character a living person as well as a type, and the marvellous sweetness of his music, yet it is evident that he was seldom haunted by that sense of the mystery of things, and that questioning of sense and outward things which form the chief impulses to a philosophic interpretation of life.

The Renaissance movement in England has now to be considered. What was its contribution to philosophic depth in English Poetry? Did it set the English mind moving in new paths? Yes, *Ex Oriente Lux*, for that movement marked the beginning of the triumph of the classical spirit over the Hebrew spirit. I regard it as the first sign of the re-conversion of the Aryan mind in Europe to its ancient faith. For, in my opinion, one great difference between the Aryan spirit and the Hebrew spirit is this: The Hebrew mind was intensely religious in its own way, but it regarded God as extra-cosmic, a Power that dwelt beyond the earth, far away in some radiant region of his own, creating souls to undergo experiences on the earth, sending the bad to eternal damnation in hell and accepting the good in heaven where they were to glorify him and live happily for ever. The Aryan mind has always shrunk from this conception as degrading the nature of Divinity. It has discovered for the world the two great ideas which Dr. Miller has expressed in beautiful language, *viz.*, the omnipenitrativeness of God and the solidarity of man. These—the Hebrew and the Aryan—conceptions of God are the sublimest to which the soul of man has attained. The Hebrew regarded God as dwelling outside the manifested universe; the Aryan regarded Him as immanent in the universe, as

" The Light whose smile kindles the universe
The Beauty in which all things live and move."

The Hebrew regarded human souls as created by God newly to undergo experiences on the earth; the Aryan regards the human souls as a part of the eternal flame, a something that moves through many incarnations ever upward to a full realisation of the glory of the Absolute, and of its own identity with it. The Hebrew mind regarded Nature as the—playground for man himself, the crown of creation; the Aryan regarded Nature as alive, as informed by the Divine spirit. The Veda says:

ईशा वा स्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्यां जगत् ।

“The whole world and all that moves therein should be regarded as dwelt-in by God (Isawasyopanishad). "The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills, and the plains are not these, oh soul, the vision of Him who reigns? Is not the vision He?" (Tennyson's Higher Pantheism). The Hebrew thought that disobedience to the laws of God would be visited with eternal roasting in Hell; to the Aryan, on the other hand, there was no punishment severer than the putting off of the day when he could see the Lord face to face and slake the thirst of his soul by drinking out of the perennial stream of Divine Love, and so he thought that disobedience to the Eternal laws, the Sanatana Dharma, would lead to his incarnating in lower forms of life with the result that all his efforts would be undone and that he would have to retrace his steps and incarnate afterwards in human forms and strive to reach Eternal Happiness. The Hebrew regarded the good man in this world as going to Heaven after death and living there in the sight of God and enjoying the glory of God; the Aryan rose to the lofty conception of union with the Divine, that "serene and blessed mood" in which

"The mortal turret of the self is loosed
And past into the nameless as a cloud
Melts into heaven."

(Tennyson's the Ancient Sage). It may perhaps be a bold thing to say—but I contend that it is the right view—that in spite of the apparent conversion of Europe to Christianity the Aryan mind of Europe remain Aryan still. Even those that have professed allegiance to the Christian doctrine have striven to harmonise the Hebrew and Aryan conceptions. The Aryanisation of the Christian religion began with St. Paul. But we see its progress in all the Christian philosophers, the culminating point being reached in the sublime speculations of Spinoza. Striking proof of what I have stated above is afforded by the great movement of the Renaissance, the sublime philosophy of Spinoza and other so called Christian philosophers, the scientific monism that is professed by all the shining lights of science at the present day, the noble and beautiful poems of Goethe, Shelley, and Wordsworth, and the inspired utterances of Carlyle and Emerson. In fact, on a survey of the history of Europe after the decline of the Roman Empire and religion, there are two events that stand out from the others as events of the greatest importance—a two fold invasion of the Aryan civilisation by the Hebrew civilisation:—one, a religious invasion by the Semites in the shape of Christianity, and the second, a political invasion by them in the shape of the incursions of the Turks and the Moors. Great have been the services rendered by both. The political invasion brought new secular knowledge into Europe, and gave new life to secular literature; the religious invasion recaptured the human mind, which, tired of religious speculation, had broken through all spiritual bonds and begun to lose itself in sense-enjoyments, utterly dead to the divine side of things. But the Battle of Towns witnessed the rolling back of the tide of Semitic invasion in the political field, while with the movement of Renaissance began the stout self-assertion of the Aryan mind, and the Aryanisation of Christianity. Hence it is that the movement of the Renaissance is one of peculiar interest and importance in considering the growth of the philosophic spirit in English poetry.

In considering the movement of the Renaissance we must bear in mind the fact that when the beautiful world of classical literature was revealed to the astonished gaze of the moderns who had just passed through the night of the Middle Ages, they failed to parceive the relative merits of the various intellectual luminaries of the ancient world. In Greek speculation, we find on the one hand, the purely 'Pagan' view, which accepts the world as it is, extracts from it the maximun of pleasure by living a balanced life and appreciating the beauties of the external aspects of Nature ; we find on the other hand, the quintessence of Aryan intuition in the writings of Plato, Plotenies, and others. Both regarded Nature as alive but the former confined itself to the contemplation of the outside of things while the latter sought to find out the hidden relations of things. Hence forward, we shall find in English literature four different phases of thought in the main—the Christian speculation, Paganism, the essential Aryan ideas about the real nature of things, and the philosophy of doubt.

What was the nature of the philosophic in English strain poetry after it began to feel the magic touch of the Renaissance movement ? We saw how, till the movement began, poetry moved with difficulty in theological fetters. Those poems that were not devoted to sacred subjects were either allegorical poems or poems merely treating of knightly adventures—both during their inspiration from France, which has always been barren of great ideas in the realm of poetry. The allegorical element began to get a wide prevalence with the *Roman de la Rose* ; and the English metrical romances were copied from French originals. But with the beginning of the Renaissance movement, all these disappeared. We find the world taken hold of by its human side and the literature striving to embody the newborn interest in the things of the world and the beauty of the universe. We find a handling of the passions of the human nature and its spiritual strivings in the place of an attempt to embody in verse the religious conceptions of Christianity. In Spenser's *Fairy Queen* the old and the new streams met. In him we see the exquisite and radiant flowering of the allegorical spirit which had long pervaded poetic literature in England ; we find also the subtle aroma of the Catholic thought which had inspired the majority of poetic compositions till the dawn of the Renaissance ; there is present also the Renaissance element proper. As Stopford Brooke says " In its ideal whole, the poem represents the new love of chivalry, classical learning, the delight in mystic theories of love and religion, in allegorical schemes, in splendid spectacles and pageants, wild adventure, the love of England, the hatred of Spain, the strange worship of the Queen, even Spenser's own new love....Almost the whole spirit of the Renaissance under Elizabeth except its coarser and baser elements, is in its pages." In fact he was a prophet of the religion of Beauty, a person who had imbibed his love of beauty from a close study of the classical works, and who kindled in others the love of beauty that he felt in himself. It was mainly the 'Pagan' elements in classical literature—the element of absorption in external loveliness that inspired his muse, though in his *Hymn in Honour of Love*, *Hymn in Honour of Beauty*, *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, he shows a philosophic perception of the Eternal as Beauty and Love. In his *Hymn of Heavenly Love* he describes the son of God and his redemption of Man in words full of true psychic rapture. How far away we are in his poems from the uninspired lives of saints and stories from the Bible, the allegorical tales which embodied no philosophy of life and which treated of the conventional virtues and vices in a conventional manner, and the metrical romances narrating in stilted language impossible achievements by mythical knights! Though we have not here the searchings of the heart and the investigation of the profoundest problems of life which we find characterising a later age, we find some of the most beautiful traits of the new movement, its insistance on the human side of things, its love of beauty for its own sake, and its treatment of human passions as things of the profoundest interest to man.

The next great figure to consider is Shakespeare. In him we see in their greatest perfection all the elements of the Renaissance movement, except the introspective element. In him we see the clearest possible perception of the profoundest problems of life and the most perfect statements of them. The man who wrote,

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep."

must have thought intensely about life and attempted to solve its manifold mysteries. But he was too intent on mirroring life accurately in all its variety and fulness to feel "the weary weight of this unintelligible world." Subjective intensity he seldom displayed outside the sonnets, and there too he moves in a limited sphere. Hence it is impossible to say how he would have handled the profoundest problems of life if he had applied his great mind to them.

The next great poet whom we have to consider is Milton. In him we see the Hebrew element asserting its dominion, though as an artist, he delighted in obeying, and obeyed, the new laws of beauty that had been rediscovered for literature through the influence of the Renaissance movement. Handling a subject which is the profoundest that the mind of man can imagine, he treats it like a professor of Christian theology. He turns God into a Sunday preacher and makes Him deliver long sermons. As Bagehot says: "He relates a series of family prayers in heaven, with sermons afterwards, which are very tedious." He starts with the object of "justifying the ways of God to Man."

Buthe is hampered by his subject, the Christian tradition, which presented an insuperable obstacle to his handling of the profoundest problem in the universe in a manner worthy of it. He propounds a puzzle and leaves it unsolved.

The next group of poets that we should consider in connection with our subject consists of Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, and some of the Puritan poets. In them the Christian devotional element is very strong, and in Donne especially there is a peculiar mystical charm; while there are present also all the elements of the Renaissance spirit—the haunting meditation on death, the passionate study of love, and the blending of the classical and romantic forms. Take, for instance, these lines from Vaughan's *Friends in Paradise.*

"Dear, beauteous Death! the jewel of the just,
Shining now here, but in the dark!
What mysteries do lie, beyond thy dust,
Could man outlook that mark!
And yet, as Angels in some brighter dreams
Call to the soul, when man doth sleep
So some strange thought transcend our wonted themes
And into glory peep."

Side by side with these, the metaphysical poets, we find the frank and admirable Pagonism of Herrick's lyrics. His poems are mostly about love and wine, and pastoral scenes. Here is one of his most charactristic poems :—

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may
Old time is still a flying;
And this same flower that smiles to-day
Tomorrow will be dying.

The glorious lamp of Heaven, the sun,
The higher he is agetting,
The sooner will his race be run,
The nearer he is tosetting,

That age is best which is the first
When youth and blood are warmer,
But being spent, the worse and worst
Times succeed the former.

Then be not coy, but use your time
And while you may, so marry:
For having lost but once your prime
You may for ever tarry."

Thus taking the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods of English Literature, the 16th and 17th centuries, we find that they are characterised by a considerable growth of the philosophic spirit. Till the dawn of the Renaissance, we saw that there were in the main only three distinct types of poetry—poems founded on sacred subjects, allegorical poems in the style of *Roman de la Rose* and the metrical and alliterative romances. The first dealt with scriptural subjects and lives of saints and were too much hampered by ready-made religious conceptions to pierce behind the veil of Nature, and see truth face to face; the second dealt with conventional virtues and vices, and wandered in the maze of personified human attributes without handling vital problems concerning man and the unwise; while the last confined itself to a mere narration of all sorts of fantastic achievements by imaginary knights. But with the dawn of the Renaissance the human spirit rose from its long slumber, and having thrown aside the shackles of theology and allegory began to move with grace and power. Literature, after having pursued shadows so long, began to recognise that, after all, man and his destiny are of more interest to human beings than anything else. This new born interest in man and the world in which he lives and moves was so intense that there was no time as yet to pierce behind the surface of things and know the truths of the spirit, to yearn for

'That fair Beauty which no eye can see
And that sweet Music which no ear can measure.'

The philosophic spirit so far as its workings can be seen in the poetry of the English Renaissance, the poetry of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, is confined to the recognition of the soul of beauty in things, the perception of the loveliness of the universe and of the comforts and ministrations to the human soul which follow from a perception of the beauty of the world. We find also a frank delight in natural things and sentiments without any desire to know the inner meaning of them all. The note of introspection that was destined to deepen with the advance of centuries was struck by some of the finer spirits of the period as when Shakespeare wrote :

"We are such stuff
As dreams are made of, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep"

Or Shirley said:

"The glories of our birth and state
Are shadows not substantial things.
There is no armour against fate
Death lays his icy hand on beings."

But the fuller and more frequent note is that of frank and joyous acceptanee of life and delight in its pleasures. Though with the advance of time we see it vanishing till it is lost amid the laboured concepts of the metaphysical poets, still it is felt to be the dominant note of the philosophic spirit in the period that we have considered. A third note is the Christian note which is seen in all its grandeury in Milton, and is heard alsoin Crashaw, Herbert and others. Thus we see that the philosophic spirit took diverse shapes during the 16th and 17th centuries in English Literature.

The work of eighteenth century in English Literature was of a unique character. Much of the ill name that clings to it is due to the fierce denunciation of it in deathless words by the poet of the Rydal Mount and by the sage of Chelsea. Carlyle called it the age of shows and rediculed and be littled its achievements. But it was of value in that it was an age of criticism, a time, when, after the fine excesses of fancy which beautified poetry during the earlier periods, the intellect of man began to assert its dominion in poetry. The traditional religious belief had lost its hold on men's minds owing to the onslaughts of the Deists. Reason was regarded as the final test of truth. The two governing impulses in poetic composition which existed before the tendency to versify sacred stories which prevailed during the pre-Renaissance period and the tendency to describe human passion and the delights of the external world which existed during the period of the Renaisance had ceased to exert any influence.

Again, the poets were all men residing in cities, and never knew Nature at her grandest, and so closed the best avenue to spiritual perception. In the devotional poetry written during the period we do not find one touch of sincre personal feeling. In fact till the Wesleys began their great religious movement, which was destined to stir Cowper so profoundly and introduce a new philosophic element in English poetry, this state of things continued. The new poetry which was soon to come into existence was destined to be impassioned, personal, and vital; the old was passionless, abstract and spasmodic and inconsistent in its expression of truth. Again, in considering the problems of life the poets of the period approached them from the intellectual point of view. Even the mingled credulity and scepticism of the new scientific temper of the time was reflected in the poetry. The result is that we have a good deal of brilliant but uninspired and unconvincing writing. Pope described the follies and frivolities of classes of men in brilliant and polished verses, but he never rose to the conception of the Universal Man, his destiny, and the mystery of the universe in which his lot is cast. In fact the latter conception we owe to the French Revolution. Also in the conception of Nature that prevailed throughout the century we see that Nature was conceived of as a great system, but not as a source of joy. There is no passionate love of Nature for its own sake, no conciousness of the balm it offers to the wounded human spirit.

Such were the prominent characteristics of the eighteenth century. To illustrate them, I shall take a few leading poets of the age. Dryden, as of the greatest poets of the Georgian Era was a past master in the art of arguing in verse, but he has no genius far arriving at philosophical truths by that process of intuition which characterises the greatest poets of the world. His *Religio Laici* states the argument for the Church of England in a masterly manner his *Hind and the Panther* is a model of clear resoning on behalf of the Church of Rome. In the fourth Act of Dryden's drama "The state of Innocence," Gabriel, Raphael, and Adam discuss the arguments on the subject of fate and free-will with the greatest clearness. But the matter is treated solely from the outside, "as an abstract question which interested the poet individually." Coming now to the greatest poet of this school, Pope wesee the same characteristics. Minto points out the reason for this state of things in his *Literature of the Georgian Era.* He says that it was due to the character of the audience whose standard of taste the poets respected, *viz.*, a self-consciously aristocratic and refined society. Pope's contribution to philosophic thought so far as his indiscriminate borrowings of ideas from all sorts of sources can be dignified by that name is contained in his *Essay on Man*, his *Epistle to the Arbrethnot*, and his *Moral Essays.* The task he sets himself in the *Essay on Man* is to

> " Vindicate the ways of God to man "

His central thesis is " Whatever is, is right " Leslie Stephen says : " The logical outcome of the rationalistic theory of the time was some form of pantheism...The optimistic view which sees the proof of divine order in the vast harmony of the whole visible world, throws into the background the darker side of the universe reflected in the theological doctrines of human corruption, and the consequent need of a future judgement in separation of good from evil." The best passages in the *Essay on Man* are those where he expresses a noble pantheism and is swept into an eloquent and enthusiastic assertion of the universal harmony of things.

> " All are but parts of one stupendous whole
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.
> All Nature is but Art unknown to thee ;
> All Chance, direction which thou canst not see.
> All discord Harmony not understood,
> All partial evil, universal good ;
> And spite of Pride in erring Reason's spite,
> One Truth is clear, whatever is, is right. "

Thus in the best passages of the greatest and most representative poet of the age, we find the influence of the Christian doctrine at its lowest ebb, while he is under the sway of the independent speculation of the Aryan mind, which was soon to receive such striking development in the immortal verse of Wordsworth and Shelley, and such a striking demonstration by the great scientists of the nineteenth century. Let us take two other authors who, instead of merely dealing with the outside of things, turned their attention to deeper matters, Young and Parnell. Young's *Night Thoughts* and the *Last Day* have a good deal of vigorous writing in them. But in the *Night Thoughts* we have merely the hackneyed thought and expression which were usual in that age in treating of the greatest subjects, and his tone is theatrical-religious, though the poem has moral strength and knowledge of human nature, which were the great merits of eighteenth century literature. So also in Parnell's *Hermit* and *Night Piece on Death*, we find, as in other works of the period, a want of intuitive perception of truth and a rendering in smooth and polished verse of the ideas of that deistical age, that age of Reason, when English poetry had not yet reached to a perception of the great truths of the spirit.

We shall now turn to Cowper and Burns. Cowper is said to have been a reformer of poetry who called it back from conventionality to Nature, and the herald of the new race of poets who were to fill England with noble song—Wordsworth, Shelley, and Byron. In the matter of style he discarded the false theory of poetic diction, which had prevailed during the age of Pope. His expression is direct, simple, impassioned and personal. In him we find the reassertion of the Christian doctrine, which was a dominant note during the pre-Renaissance period and which we heard also from individual singers now and then subsequently. He rose to the conception of man, independent of rank, caste envertion and education,—a conception which was soon to find its most violent and unforgettable realisation in practical life in the French Revolution. This revolutionary idea of the equality of man was grounded in his mind on the idea of God as the common maker of man. He speaks of "the link of brotherhood by which one common Maker bound him to his kind." His interest in man is a vivid, passionate, and personal interest in him as the handwork of God, not as it was in Pope's time a mere intellectual interest in the humours and characteristics of certain classes of men. Brooke says: "The wide range given to it by Cowper, the personal passion in it, the glance it took forward to a brighter time, its theological element of God as the source of freedom and avenger of tyranny are all elements distinctly new to our poetry, above all new in their power of awakening and maintaining the human emotions which must create a human poetry." He looks forward to the time when every one will enjoy perfect freedom, and the Redeemer will come

> "To visit earth in mercy, to descend
> Propitious in his chariot, paved with love."
> And "all is harmony and love, for heavenward all things tend."

This was the beginning of that noble faith in the glorious destinies of man and the perfection towards which he moves, of which Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* is the most beautiful and sublime expression.

But Cowper's Cabrinism had a blighting effect on this intuitive faculty. His religious poetry was written during deep mental gloom. He believed himself irrevocably doomed to perdition. We are here very far indeed from the frank joyousness of early Paganism which has been persisting in English poetry since the Renaissance, and from the grave introspection which sees the unity of things and knows that the world is the manifestation of Harmony and Love, which also we owe to the Renaissance, and which was to receive so noble an expression in Wordsworth and Shelley, and such striking proof in the scientific theories of Nature. Take for instance the famous passage:

> "I was a stricken deer that left the herd
> Long since, with many an arrow deep infused
> My panting side was charged, when I withdrew
> To seek a tranquil death in distant shades.
> There was I found by one who had Himself
> Been hurt by the archers. In His side he bore,
> And in His hands and feet the cruel scars."

Burns on the other hand was a good hater of Cabrinistic ideas. His "*Holy Willies Prayer*" was the most effective blow ever dealt at Cabrinism, He proclaimed a more liberal creed, and claimed the right of enjoyment. We see in Him an immense pity for the weaknesses of human beings.

> "Then gently scar your brother man
> Still gentlier sister woman,
> Though they may gong a kenning wrong,
> To step aside is human."

We see in him how the stern Cabrinistic spirit of Cowper was modfied by the spirit of the Renaissance. Mr. Stopford Brooke says : I see no trace in Burns's poetry that Christ had any meaning for him; I see nothing but a fine theism." He rose to the conception of Universal Man, and asserted his Kingliness.

> "The rank is but the guinea stamp,
> The man's the gowd for a' that"

and proclaimed in stirring verses the glory of freedom. He burned with hatred against tyrants, and yearned for the coming of the time when all men would live as brothers in harmony and love.

But even with regard to these poets, we find about their singing robes a slight aroma of the pervading ideas of the age of Pope.

THE BOOK OF THE MONTH. *

The Greatest Maithil Poet.

By Mr. KUNDAN LALL.

DR Coomaraswamy's persuasive talents and never-flagging vigor are employed ever on one theme; but it is a theme that he rightly supposes to be incomparably the most important of all propagandas in these days. The master-crime of which society stands accused today is that it has divorced yog from thought, art from philosophy, symbolism from religion, to their mutual destruction. In the medieval Indian mind, as in some measure in that of the neo-platonic Europe, there was no such differentiation. To them the world itself was a symbol, and the scriptures, even if they were regarded as historical, were symbolic as well. All knowledge whether intellectual or emotional had to be assigned a place in the great pattern of the Divine symbol.

Vidyapati is a poet of those days. The theme of his songs is a simple love, naive and tender yet full of meaning and profound, and there are no complicated movements in its story for he deems love to be sacramental and repose is essential to religion. He is a devotee who witnesses the divine drama in the revelry of Nature, but his revelry is never riotous for it is essentially a sacrament.

---

* *Vidyapati Bangiya Padabali.*—Songs of the Love of Radha and Krishna translated into English by Ananda Coomaraswamy and Arun Sen with introduction and notes and illustrations from Indian paintings—the old Bourne Press, 15 Holborn London, 1915.

A moon unstained that slowly rose,
Or a golden vine.'
A Dionyson vine would be purple.

The brooks overflow in the rains but the oceans are never too full, so his passion is never tumultuous for he instils passion into the twilight of eternal space.

The longing cloud desires the Catak,
The moon desires the partridge,
The vine upholds the full grown tree--
There is amazement in my heart.
And starting suddenly, she murmurs 'Shiva, Shiva'
Her fire has filled the earth.

He has discribed the longing and the despair not of the love that craves a return, but of the love that having renounced its all, even heaven and salvation, sought for freedom and bliss only in the beloved and losing him loses God. The Vaishuava seeks not heaven nor is he afraid of hell, he cares not for Mukti nor frets against bondage, so the ineffable vision be granted unto him.

It is but fruitless to destroy the flower of love.
If he should answer, 'you are senseless,'
Say that "I gave my heart with a free good will.
If I may not see his moon-fair face again,
I shall cast off my life in the fire of love'

Vidyapati has translated the religious love into terms of human relationship, he has associated human love and its passions with the radiance and the rhythm of the divine dance, nay more, at times he ceases to be a mystic writer, in the sense that he writes not in symbols, because for him the glad life of the mortal becomes the joy of the Divinity.

A mirror in hand, a flower in my hair,
Seurm of my eyes, tambul of my mouth,
Musk on my breast, a necklace about my throat,
All the gear on my body, the life of my house.
Wings to the bird, and water to fish,
Life of my life—I know thou art these—
But tell me, O. Madhav, what art thou in sooth?
Avers Vidyapati : Each is both.

The naive and humorous admonitions of the poet to his divinities might sound somewhat familiar and too personal to the modern ear. To the more religious however it is not so. With whom should we be intimate if not with the object of our devotion? and who but God should be near to us ? It was possible only in a still devout Greece that the 'Frogs' of Aristophanes was played at the festival of Dionysos in the presence of his priests

The pictures are admirably chosen and well reproduced. Nothing could visualize to us better than do these dainty paintings, the emotional life lived by the lovers of Krishna, nor could anything lead us so well as Vidyapati's songs to the thought behind their exquisite lives. They are, as all illustrations in the truest sense should be, commentaries on the songs as the songs on them. Their voluptuousness is a very conscious background to the purity of their life composition.

The translation is neat and graceful ; and even when an unnecessary use of an unusual word (like elepant for elephant) jars upon the ears, we are grateful to the translators for erring on that side rather then render the poems in the now utterly lifeless and romanceless English prose. The translation is a prose lyric ; it does possess a very suggestive rhythm, and the effect is incomparably better than any futile attempt—unhappily often made—to reproduce the orginal music in English verse. We congratulate the joint translators on their fine and admirably got-up production of this beautiful work.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS.

Modern Art Criticism.*

By Dr. ANANDA COOMARASWAMY, D. Sc.

"FOR those who can feel the significance of form, art can never be less than a religion."—CLIVE BELL.

"That tragic ecstasy which is the best that art—perhaps that life—can give."—W. B. YEATS.

THE spiritual energies of successive ages are differently directed ; the problems change, the search is one and the same. There is no more significant tendency in modern thought than that study of æsthetics, which in our day seeks so persistently to penetrate beneath the accidentals in all works of art, to disengage those essential and innermost compelling qualities which are independent alike of racial taste and temporary pre-occupations. When experience has taught us that works of visual art, music or dance of

---

* *Art* By Clive Bell, (London, 1914.)

the most diverse ages and peoples, can awaken in sensitive minds one and the same strange and unique æsthetic emotion, an emotion that frees the spectator from himself, as in *samadhi*—when it is realised that works of art are more truly distinguished as good or bad, than as Eastern or Western, old or new—then we cannot but ask what is that one essential quality that so deeply touches us in all these works, quite independently of their appeal to current tastes or codes of ethics.

It is true that the combined faculty of sensitive appreciation and logical analysis is rare; most of those who experience æsthetic ecstasy are not interested in discussing it, and most of those naturally gifted with the spirit of analysis have never felt the æsthetic emotion at all, and have simply wasted labour in discussing a problem which they are constitutionally unable to grasp. Nevertheless, in this age of "tiefbohrender Æesthetik," it is possible to find this combination of appreciation and analysis. This is fortunate, if it be true, as Blake says, that no man can embrace true art till he has explored and cast out false art; and this certainly is true, if we take into account more lives than one, or race-memory.

The clearest thinker about art, since Hsieh Ho and Leonardo da Vinci, was William Blake, who understood art as vision, and declared that painting, like poetry, could admit nothing not significant. Tolstoy came very near the root of the matter in setting aside the conception of "beauty," and indicating the transmisson of feeling as the true activity of art, although he seems to have meant rather feelings in the plural, than that one ecstasy which we speak of as æsthetic emotion. Goethe, on the other hand, well understood, for he says,

For beauty they have sought in every age,
He who perceives it, *is from himself set free.*

Benedetto Croce, like Tolstoy, insists on the linguistic character of art, and the relativity of beauty; he defines art as successful expression, or simply, expression.

A work just published by Mr. Clive Bell is undoubtedly the most important contribution to æsthetics since Croce, and will attract many readers, since it is written in simpler language, though with rather more of mere smartness than quite accords with its own principles. It is no disparagement of the book to say that it contains little that is not a commonplace of serious modern criticism; it is rather for that very reason that we shall find it profitable to follow out its argument in some detail.

"What quality," asks Mr. Bell, "is common to Sta. Sophia and the windows at Chartres, Mexican sculpture, a Persian bowl, Chinese carpets, Giotto's frescoes at Padua, and the masterpieces of Poussin, Piero della Francesca, and Cezanne? Only one answer seems possible—significant form."

The term beauty is better avoided, unless we deliberately define it as "form that provokes æsthetic emotion," for its most common use is in popular physiological, rather than æsthetic senses. The "beauty" of the human type, for example, is absolutely relative—to understand the beauty of Leila, one must see with the eyes of Majnun; it is a product of racial and personal taste, and there is certainly nothing universal in taste. Another way would be to distinguish objective beauty as *loveliness* (likeable, desirability), and subjective or æsthetic beauty as true beauty; but it would be difficult to expect such a distinction to be widely followed. Hence, "Significant form."

Descriptive painting, so far as it is merely descriptive, is not art; "who has not said that such and such a drawing was excellent as illustration, but as a work of art worthless? Of course, many descriptive pictures possess, amongst other qualities, formal significance, and are therefore works of art; but many more do not. They interest us; they may move us too in a hundred different ways, but they do not move us æsthetically. According to my hypothesis, they are not works of art. They leave untouched our æsthetic emotions because it is not their forms but the ideas or information suggested or conveyed by their forms that affect us." Most portraits, topographical and erotic works, and many religious images are thus merely descriptive or illustrative; but it is very important to notice that this is not so of necessity; and also that our interest in, and appeciation of, such works is not at all wrong, provided that we do not decieve ourselves that this is the best that art can give us.

It is a source of astonishment to the public that "most people who care much about art find that of the work that moves them most the greater part is what scholars call 'Primitive'……no other art moves us so profoundly." The reason is that in the sort of art called Primitive we find three common characteristics—absence of representation, absence of technical swagger, sublimely impressive form." Some would say the Primitives neglected representation only because they lacked skill; others that they practised what is now called "wilful distortion." However that may be—and neither hypothesis commends itself to sensitive minds—it is certain that the Primitives never do create illusion nor make an exhibition of smartness; they concentrate their whole energy on the creation of forms, and that is why we owe to them the finest works of art there are. Of course, the Primitives do not belong to any one time or place: there were Primitives in Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was Blake a hundred years ago, there were Chinese primitives just after the highly accomplished Ku K'ai-chih, and some in modern Europe. I fear there are no primitives in modern India.

Painting and music have often been compared. It is a misfortune of visual art that everybody claims to be equally qualified to criticise it, and the vast majority of persons do so on the basis of its obvious representative elements. No one of intelligence would call a piece of music good because it reflects the sound of galloping horses or the songs of birds; no one of intelligence *ought* to call a painting good (as a work of art) because it resembles some familiar or unfamiliar object in nature.

Although Mr. Bell says little about music, and speaks generally of painting, yet it is evidence of the truth of his theory, as it is of the far more magnificent generalisation of Hsieh Ho, that the principle enunciated—significant form—is equally applicable to art. I think he is quite wrong in saying "Literature is never pure art"; as wrong as any poet would be in declaring that no painting or sculpture can be pure art because it must almost unavoidably contain some representative elements. It is true that a lengthy literary work rarely does maintain the highest lyrical enthusiasm throughout; but in certain short poems, "there is no room for most of what we commonly look for in verse" (as Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain naively remarks in "Japanese Poetry.") The same writer says of the Japanese "epigram," that it "is a little dab of colour thrown upon a canvas one inch square, where the spectator is left to guess at the picture as best he may." Here is an example,

Tsuyu no yo no
Tsuyu no yo nagara
Sari nagara

Granted this dew drop world is but
A dewdrop world—this granted, yet......

The same kind of thing occurs in the Indian *ghazal*, for example :—

Sajan jo main janti parit kiye dukh
Nagar dhandhora pherti parit kare na koi.
Beloved, had I known that love brings grief
I must have proclaimed with beat of drum that none should love.

Here there is certainly the "pure expression of omotion"; I think, also, the expression of emotion far removed from the everyday emotions of life. Even in Western poetry some similar examples could be found, but these are sufficient to vindicate the claim of literature to the title of pure art.

We are provided with a short history of Christian art, in the light of the theory of significant form; it affords profitable reading for those who fancy that the history of art is a progression from Giotto to the Royal Academy. Phidias is the beginning of the end in Greece; it is reached in Roman realism. Something new was felt by the early Christians; but they could not express it, for the earliest Christian paintings in the catacombs are purely classical. Diocletian's palace at Spalato (beginning of the fourth century) shows as classicism in a death struggle with the new spirit from the East. Even in 450 A.D. the mosaics of the Galla Placida at Ravenna are still coarsely classical. "There is a nasty woolly realism about the sheep, and about the good shepherd more than a suspicion of the stodgy, Græco-Roman, Apollo. Imitation still fights, though it fights a losing battle, with the significant form." It is strange to think the very same battle was going on at the same time in India, and that there, too, the Græco-Roman Apollo stood for stodginess and imitation and the absence of all vision. Even in far-off China this was likewise the moment of transition.

But we must not digress from the history of Europe. The batttle was on before Sta. Sophia began to rise (532-537 A.D.); and to the sixth ntury belong the most majestic monuments of Byzantine art. "It is the imitive and supreme summit of the Christian slope. The upward spring rom the levels of Græco-Romanism is immeasurable......Go to Ravenna, and u will see the masterpieces of Christian art, the primitives of the slope; go the Tate Gallery or the Luxembourg, and you will see the end of the ope—Christian art at its last gasp."

Mr. Bell is careful to explain that by Christian art he means, of coarse, hing that is Christian in a merely theological or dogmatic sense; he means hat religious spirit of which Christianity......is one manifestation, Buddhism nother......So far was the new spirit from being a mere ebullition of rictian faith, that we find manifestations of it in Mohammedan art." Christian art is not an expression of specific Christian emotion; but it was y when men had been roused by Christianity that they began to feel emotions that express themselves in form." Christian art preserved its gnificance for an unusually long period, something like 500 years; because those days many things moved more slowly; virgin races in succession ught the new inspiration and expressed it with intensity and passion. Noran art of the eleventh century is scarcely inferior to Byzantine of the sixth.

Duccio and Cimabue are the last great Western exponents of the tration that held the essential everything, and the accidental nothing. Giotto is individually greater, but he marks the beginning of the end—an end that had already begun in France with the invention of Gothic architecture. The decline is masked by the appearance of many individually great artists in immediately succeeding centuries; but when the new movement towards "Truth and Nature" had finally destroyed the Byzantine tradition, there was nothing left to stand against the insidious disease of the Classical Renaissance. What this spirit added to the life of man was—"a new sense of the excitingness of human affairs." The brief splendour of Mughal painting gives us an exact parallel in India; both movements were concerned with material beauty, and both left the uneducated classes quite unmoved. In 16th—century Europe and 16th-17th-century India and Persia (where the great Bihzad was already on the downward slope), "we are in the age of names and catalogues and genius-worship." There was a truly primitive movement in Rajput India at the same time, but the last of it has vanished, like the relics of traditional grandeur in Rajputana.

The eighteenth century in Europe is distinguished because Blake was born and flourished in the latter end of it. In the nineteenth century the Pre-Raphaelites, like our Calcutta group of to-day, represented a movement of good taste and real cultivation, and did the world the immense service of disparaging the whole tradition of the Classical Renaissance. They preferred Giotto to Raphael, because they saw that Raphael was vulgar; we likewise have the intelligence to recognise that Ravi Varma was vulgar (ten thousand times more so than Raphael), but we have not felt as yet a truly primitive impulse to the creation of significant form. There is time yet; even in Europe the Pre-Raphaelites had to come before the Post-Impressionists. Impressionism in Europe represents the theory of scientific realism carried to its logical extreme. But it happened that the men who held these theories were artists in spite of themselves—particularly Renoir, Degas, Manet, Whistler. Their fantastic and quite unsuccessful pursuit of scientific truth gave us works of art tolerable in design and glorious in colour: the historical importance of Impressionism "consists in its having taught people to seek the significance of art in the work itself, instead of hunting for it in the emotions and interests of the outer world."

Post-Impressionism, theoretically poles apart from Impressionism, is really a continuation and development. It is essentially the reassertion of the first principle of art—Create Significant Form. "By this assertion it shakes hands across the ages with the Byzantine primitives and with every vital movement that has struggled into existence since the arts began." Almost all good modern painters draw some inspiration from Cezanne, and belong more or less to the Post-Impressionist movement. "If the Impressionists raised the proportion of works of art in the general pictorial output from about one in five hundred thousand to one in a hundred thousand, the Post-Impressionists . . . have raised the average again. To-day, I dare say, it stands as high as one in ten thousand. Indeed, it is this that has led some people to see in the new movement the dawn of a new age; for nothing is more characteristic of a 'primitive' movement than the frequent and widespread production of genuine art." There is reason to think that we may have passed, and only just passed, the point of lowest level in European culture since Rome, and that we stand at the beginning of an upward slope. Some time later on we shall be able to distinguish the sources of the new impulse; these sources are not in the Post-Impressionist movement but that movement is in them. It was the spirit of the East that brought new life into the decaying world of Rome; there can be little doubt that a large, perhaps by far the largest, factor in the present Renaissance of Western Europe is due to the spiritual discovery of Asia. What Indian Buddhism did for China in the sixth century, all Asiatic thought and art may do, and, perhaps, is doing for Europe now. If so, it will be (alas) but small thanks to the *modern* East, and most of the credit will be due to the sensitive intelligence of European pioneers; as someone—perhaps Mr. Bell himself—wrote some time ago in the "Athenæum," there are more signs of a spiritual renaissance in London than in Benares or Tokio. The East has some time longer yet to fall; although there are already satisfactory signs of discontent with "progress," even on the far Chinese horizon, and in India.

It remains to notice one more movement to bring the history of European art down to the latest moment. After the Post-Impressionists come the Futurists, Cubists and the like. These are disposed of as a mere perversion the main forward tendency, and they are condemned, as artists, because, ike the Royal Academicians, they use form, not to provoke æsthetic emotions, at to convey information and ideas—they aim at representing in line and olour the chaos of the mind at a particular moment." The Post-Impressionist ndency, on the other hand, is capable of endless development. So much for summary of European art, to which we have added Oriental parallels.

It remains to notice an important chapter of Mr. Bell's book, which ill be of special interest, perhaps, to Indians, who have still a natural flair or metaphysics, denied to most Englishmen. Having decided that the ssential thing in art is significant form, the question arises, What is this ignificance. Mr. Bell believes, with Blake, that "the world of imagination s the world of eternity," or, in his own phraseology, æsthetic emotion is the motion that we feel when intuition reveals to us Reality. He is on safe round here, with Blake and Hsieh Ho. This view is also closely related o that of Abhinavagupta, who says that the appreciation of poetry (Indian æsthetic is mainly worked out in terms of poetry and drama, as Mr. Bell's in those of painting) is a revelation of our own higher self (the *sattvic* nature), otherwise obscured by *rajas* (selfish activity) and *tamas* (dullness); æsthetic ecstasy is comparable to Brahmanic bliss. The neo-Platonists and many others have come to the same conclusion. For those who follow thus far, it must be evident that art and religion are one and the same thing—the vision of God, or of Ultimate Reality, or the Self, or Will, or whatever name we choose to use—and that neither art nor religion, in their deepest essence, are concerned with practical ethics; both are alike beyond good and evil. The essential ecstasies are as remote from the happiness and sorrow, the hopes and fears of this human life, as is the unconditioned from the pairs of opposites. We are in perfect agreement that this ecstasy is the best thing art can give us; but Mr. Bell himself is so pre-occupied with this best that perhaps he forgets the importance of the element of sympathetic magic in a work of art. Not only may a picture or a phrase stimulate in us a dionysic ecstasy; but together with this, or even failing this, works of art, in so far as they express and awaken personal emotions, or set forth a physiological ideal, have a very direct influence upon life. We have, indeed, begun to learn that in art, as in myths and dreams, individuals and races continually dramatise subconscious purposes and hopes and fears; and our main education, in the sense of "licking into shape," is attained through the idol-worship of these heroic forms.

Would-be censors of art have always felt this very strongly; it is only unfortunate that those who are most anxious to exercise a censorship personally, or to have one exercised on behalf of their own prejudices, have very rarely been artists at all, and in many cases not even psychologists. A "censorship" is only satisfactorily exercised by the good taste of an elite: it is this, for example, that has preserved the perfection of the Japanese No-drama through so many centuries, and even in the face of modern vulgarity. Under some fotunate conditions it is possible for whole communities to remain for many centuries almost of one mind regarding some essentials of character or physical form ; in those ages in spiritual feudalism, the lord in his castle and the peasant in his hut are equals in all but worldly power, divided in status, but united by identical ideals. When a movement like that of the Classical Renaissance in Europe, or the Anglicisation of modern India, destroys the culture of the upper classes, the peasant, being less accessible to the forces of destruction, changes much less slowly ; we have such a spectacle as modern India provides, where kings are uncultivated, or rather decultivated, and the only elite consists of yet uncorrupted peasants, whose virtues are traditional, unconscious and insecure. The later stage, of plutocratic and official art on the one hand, and "popular" or mob art on the other, the elite reduced to sporadic manifestations of individual genius (perhaps only survivals), may be studied in modern Europe.

It is quite true that pure art is something much more than ethical; it raises us above the pairs of opposites altogether. But to recommend, therefore, that everyone should "take refuge from life in æsthetic emotion, is to say that everyone should spend their time in mystic raptures and neglect the cooking. This is neither desirable nor possible. Indeed æsthetic ecstasy must be a matter of comparatively brief and rare experience even for the most exalted spirit ; for to remain on these heights, in a perpetual *samadhi*, would be death. Philosophy teaches us that such a death must be the final end of every development ; but even if that death be really the gate of Life, we ought, none the less, to see that we live a fine kind of life while we live at all. Thus the Nietzscheans are right up to a certain point—the *dharma*, *artha*, and *Kama* point—in their advocacy of ruler-art, and their interest in subject. Both sides, moreover, are in perfect agreement that realism is the smallest part of art, and that it is no part of the business of art to represent our individual selves.

It will never be that the multitude will be content with the æsthetic significance of art—never until they could be content with the ecstasy of mathematical imagination or of mystic vision. If *Pravritti* and *Nivritti* are eternal tendencies in the infinite Whole, this can never come about—it is individuals, not crowds, that attain emancipation. Meanwhile, as has been well said, for those who are not idealists, there are idols provided. In this age perhaps it would be truer to say that idols *ought* to be provided, for they are not easy to be discovered. Laymen should look to artists for the setting up of idols ; their own business is to worship. But if all artists confine themselves altogether to idealism, they cannot wonder if the great public sets up mean and false idols for itself.

Probably, with our modern ideals of self-expression, and one-man-as-good-as-another, we make it nearly impossible for the artists to establish idols ; even a god is helpless without worshippers. Probably we need, to teach us idol-worship, to occupy ourselves far more extensively with the minor ritual of the temple. "There must be more popular art......art must become less exclusively professional. That will not be achieved by bribing the best artists to debase themselves, but by enabling everyone to create such art as he can......If art is to do the work of religion, it must be somehow brought within reach of the people who need religion, and an obvious means of achieving this is to introduce into useful work the thrill of creation." One does not bring art into the loves of the people "by dragging parties of children and factory girls through the National Gallery and the British Museum......the only possible effect of personally conducted visits must be to confirm the victims in their suspicion that art is something infinitely remote, infinitely venerable and infinitely dreary......By practising an art it is possible that people will acquire sensibility."

It appears then that we must not go on having our useful work done by machinery; that is, *if* we wish the people to be educated. Almost the only ordinary people who have a chance to understand the significance of form, to become sensitive through their own daily work, are engineers, the people who make machines; the people who use machines have no chance at all. The central problem of modern culture is to escape from the tyranny of machinery. Before that escape can be achieved we have got to learn that civilisation means quality, and not quantity. To teach that is to do the best possible alike for art and life. I should be sorry to agree with Mr. Bell and the Fabians that useful work must remain, for the most part, mechanical, for evermore. If so, the sooner we get back to the bronze age, the better for everyone who does not batten on an unearned income.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

Annual Books of Reference.

Whitaker's Almanack for 1915. Edited by Joseph Whitaker, F. S. A., (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s*. 6*d*. Abridged edition 1*s*.

Hazell's Annual for 1915. (Hazell, Watson & Viney, Ld., 52 Long Acre, London.) Price 3*s*. 6*d*.

The Daily Mail Year-Book for 1915. (The Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.) Price 6*d*.

Who's Who for 1915. (Price 15*s*.) and *Who's Who Year-Book for 1915.* (Price 1*s*.) (Adam & Charles Black, Soho Squares, London.)

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage and Companionage for 1915. (12, Warwick Lane, London.) Price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The Literary Year-Book for 1915. (Health, Cranton and Ousley, Ld., London) Price 5*s*.

The Writer's and Artist's Year-Book for 1915. (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) Price 1*s*.

The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory for 1915, (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London.) Price 2*s*. 6*d*. net.

WHITAKER'S *Almanack* and *Hazell's Annual* are *par excellence* "books of reference," in the popular sense of the term. The *Almanack*—of which the present issue is the forty-seventh annual edition—contains "an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, a vast amount of information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations of the world, with special reference to the British Empire and the United States"; while the *Annual*—which is in its thirtieth year of issue—is "a record of the movements of the time" and each of the books is furnished with a full index. These extracts from the explanatory titles will fairly convey to the reader the scope and object of the two publications. Both books deal largely with statistics, with perhaps this difference that while *Whitaker's Almanack* is a satistical book both in intention and achievement, *Hasell's Annual* is not so frankly satistical but professedly readable. The difference between the two works might be brought out by saying that, whereas *Whitaker's* deals with statistics only *Hasell's Annual* handles statistical facts, which are put in a fairly readable form. Both books exhibit on the part of their editors vast industry, limitless patience, and an admirable spirit of collation and comparison. It is a different thing, of course, to say that no such book can claim absoulte accuracy. But with *Whitaker* and *Hazell* on his bookself—as the two supplement each other—no public man or publicist can have any excuse for pleading ignorance of, or making misleading statements on, any of the topics of the day. The Indian sections of both the books have been improved in the light of the criticism offered by us in our notices of the previous editions, yet some minor mistakes remain. Making allowance, however for such mistakes in the Indian section—mistakes inevitable in the case of writers gathering materials from administrative reports and bluebooks, without much personal knowledge of India—the bulk of the information contained in both the books is extremely accurate and trustworthy, and they are, on the whole, works of reference of striking merits and exceptional excellence, which no student of current events can possibly do without. The present editions of both teem with thoroughly up-to-date and most valuable information on almost every current topic of popular interest. The 1915 edition of *Hazell's Annual* is worth many time the price paid for it, if only for the extremely valuable articles on the war, which cover no less than thirty pages and embrace in a concise form the facts necessary for reference, at the present time, including two highly informative articles on "The financial crisis and how it was overcome," and "Labour and the War." The new features of *Whitaker's Almanac* are too numerous to mention seriatim, but it may broadly be stated that there is hardly a subject of current interest which has not a sketch or a statistical table" devoted to it. Special prominence is naturally given to the War now raging and articles by military and naval experts on its various aspects add notable interest to the current issue and considering the difficulties of procuring figures at present about foreign countries, the accuracy of this indispensable book is little short of the marvellous.

II.

To those who cannot afford to purchase any of the two books of reference noticed above, might be cordially commended the *Daily Mail Year Book*, the little red book," as it calls itself. Its explanatory tittle is :—" A Hand-Book to all the Questions of the Day," and it is now in the fifteenth year of ts publication. The *Daily Mail Year—Book* is certainly one of the most marvel-ous compendiums of general and statistical information, which can be had t the low price of six pence. It covers a large range of subjects, and each ection of it is so full of information, alike interesting and instructive, that very one who will dip into it will materially add to his stock of useful know-edge. Our only complaint against the *Daily Mail Year-Book* is that it does ot pay adequate attention to the fortunes of the Indian Empire and the space llotted to Indian subjects is scarcely commensurate with the importance of India as a factor in the British Empire. We hope that in its next issue the editor will see his way to materially expand the Indian section, so that it may be an exhaustive repertory of sound and useful information about the great British Indian Empire. The year's edition, of course includes the war, and a large number of subjects in connexion with it are dealt with concisely. Mr. H. W. Wilson has many closely packed pages on the armies and navies engaged : Mr. Benjamin Kidd and Mr. F. W. Wiles write on wider aspects of the war ; Mr. Duguid on War and the Credit System ; and Sir Evelyn Wood contributes stories of war and sketches of military leaders. German colonies and trade, aircraft, Nietzscheanism, destruction of artistic monuments, &c., are among other topics of the crisis dealt with ; there is a diary of the war and the story of its causes. All this and other matters about the war do not interfere with the usual varied tabular and other information contained in the *Year-book* in all branches of present-day activity.

III.

Who's Who and *Who's Who Year-Book*, as their names indicate, practically constitute one work in two separate parts. The *Year-Book*, which cannot be excelled for rapid reference—as it offers in a highly compressed form the cream of many expensive and voluminous works— consists of a series of useful tables, so well-arranged that the information sought can literally be seen at a glance, and it also comprises much original matter, not accessible in even more expensive works of reference. Thus it is a most useful and handy compendium of general information and a necessary adjunct to the great biographical annual—*Who's Who*—from which it takes its name. *Who's Who* is *the* annual dictionary of contemporary biography. It is a biographical manual briefly recording all that is worth knowing of living celebrities. Making allowance for omissions and deficiencies inevitable in a work of this kind, *Who's Who* is, beyond all doubt, the best and the most compendious annual biographical directory of the world's prominent persons in all walks of life and is, as such, a most valuable and absolutely indispensable work of reference. Men and women of the British and Irish nationality nuturally predominate, but the leading men and women of note of the Continental, American and Australian countries also find a place in its pages. The latest edition of *Who's Who* contains more pages than its immediate predecessor, and consequently demonstrates the fact that the number of distinguished persons qualified to take their place in this most wonderful of biographical dictionaries is still on the up-grade, and that the editors and publishers are determined to keep the volume as complete as possible. India, however, cannot be said to be adequately represented. Even in the sketches of the few Indians whose names appear, there is a "sense of disproportion"—Indian noblemen and titled men being lionised (such, for instance, as is the case in Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*) at the expense of distinguished Indian public men and leaders, the vast majority of whom are conspicuous by their absence in *Who's Who*. We hope that the usefulness of the next edition will be materially increased by a serious attempt being made to furnish sketches of the distinguished Indians—the leaders of public opinion in the different provinces.

IV.

Whitaker's Peerage, Baronetage, Knightage, and Companionage is, if we may say so, a *Who's Who*, on a small scale, of peers, baronets, knights and companions of the British Empire. There are many bulky publications on the subject, two of the best-known being those of Burke and Debrett. But for ready reference and every-day use in India, *Whitaker's Peerage* fully serves the purpose. Its arrangement is simple, its statements are, on the whole, accurate and it gives just the information about peers, baronets and companions, that an Anglo-Indian or Indian publicist would ordinarily require. Its handy size, neat printing, excellent get-up and, above all, its very moderate price, are all strong recommendations in its favour, and it should find a place on the book-shelf of every publicist in India. The usefulness of the book to seekers after knowledge in this country, is enhanced by its including sketches of the knights and companions of the Indian orders, as also by supplying information about what are infelicitously called "Native Indian" titles, and a glossary of Indian words bearing on the subject. Of the cheaper books of its class, none has met with greater appreciation than *Whitaker's Peerage*, as it is excellently compiled and its simple alphabetical form, with all the necessary cross-references, makes its information very readily accessible. The present volume includes all the latest information to the date of issue and there is no better handy guide to the subject, as it contains all the essential facts.

V.

The next two books on our list are works of reference for literary persons, as they deal with the world of literature and journalism. The *Literary Year-Book* is now in its nineteenth year of issue and it has long been acknowledged to have supplied a real want. It gives a literary calendar, an exhaustive list of contemporary authors and their chief works, a list of literary agents, typists and press-cutting agencies, summary of the laws of copyright, a table of royalties" for the benefit of authors who adopt the method of payment called royalties, a list of leading British, Continental and American publishers nd booksellers, lists of periodical publications with contributors' guide—one lphabetical and the other classified according to the subject-matter of the contents of the periodicals—a list of learned societies all over the world, and lastly, technical information about the production of books. A "classified list of publishers' requirements" is a new and useful feature. It would thus e seen that the *Literary Year-Book* is an indispensable *vade mecum* for all persons connected with the press or devoted to literary pursuits. It is, so to ay, a Bookman's directory, on a large-scale, and it may fitly be designated he "Bookman's Manual." In the preface there is, as usual, an interesting account of last year's important events in the literary and journalistic world. We are glad to find that the editor has been able to expand the section devoted to Indian journals and newspapers. This has materially enhanced the value of the book, as a work of reference, to seekers after information about Indian publications. We notice with regret that the editor has omitted to append in the present issue the classified list of the various series of cheap reprints of classics, which have been so prominent a feature of the publishing trade during the last few years. The list used to be of great value to all book-lovers, but was particularly appreciated in India—educated Indians, as a class, being too poor to purchase expensive editions. We trust it will be restored in the next edition.

The *Writers' and Artists' Year-Book*, in a way, supplements the *Literary Year-Book*. It contains a large number of addresses of British, American and Canadian periodical publications to which manuscripts may be sent, as also an indication of the contribution that each particular publication requires, besides all such general information as would facilitate the placing of literary work. In the list of journals mentioned, special attention is drawn to all details of importance—such as the length of manuscripts likely to be accepted, the kind and quality of matter suitable, the style of illustration generally employed and the rate of payment. The book also supplies the want of artists who, though working with pen and brush, desire acceptance of their output in magazines. It is thus a very useful little book, the information in which, though necessarily concise, is of great utility to all connected with the press or literature. Admirably compiled, not only is it of value to the working author and artist but also indispensable to the tyro, whose needs have not been overlooked. In its pages will be found the facilities for rapid reference the busy man or woman requires, while at the same time the literary or artistic aspirant will find clearly set out the elementary rules of procedure that must be adopted if editors are to be placated. It would largely increase the value of the book as a work of reference, if the editor could see his way to devote—like the *Literary Year-Book*—a special section to Indian periodicals.

VI.

The *Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory* is now in its thirty-fourth year of publication and is too well-established a favourite with those for whom it caters to need the reviewer's commendation. It is divided into several sections grouped under various headings. Each of these sections is comprehensively dealt with and the information brought together by the editor is valuable and interesting. In India, the book will be found to be very useful not only by Anglo-Indian ladies, but also by social reformers and publicists interested in questions concerning "women's cause," of which it is an encyclopædic record. The present edition has been completely revised and re-arranged and, with a view to facilitate reference, many new headings and a wide system of cross-references have been introduced and the index appreciably enlarged. In every direction where improvement was possible that improvement has been made, and the book is fully abreast of the time.

Our Library Table: Miscellaneous Literature.

We welcome the eighth and "final" edition of Professor A. V. Dicey's *Introduction to the Study of the Law of the Constitution* (Macmillan & Co., London.) On its first appearance in 1885, the work took its place as an indispensable treatise on the important subject it deals with and as it passed through seven editions, each of them an improvement on its predecessor, it naturally attained the dignity of a classic. In the present edition the author has enriched it with a learned and luminous Introduction in which he brilliantly sketches out the changes and developments in the British Constitution during the last thirty years, and which, as a dissertation on the law and politics of the last three decades in Great Britain, is a masterpiece of close reasoning. The new edition is thus worth attention for the sake of the Introduction alone and the book, as a whole, will maintain for a long time to come its status as the standard, introductory text-book on the British Constitution.

We would not envy the man who is tired of Addison and we are therefore delighted to find that to their "Eversley Series," the enterprising publishers have just added in two volumes a most excellent selection—*Essays of Joseph Addison* (Macmillan & Co., London). The editor is Sir James Fraser—one of the best known of contemporary British men of letters—who contributes a most interesting Preface, which is a brilliant study of the home and haunts of "Sir Roger de Coverly." There can be no doubt that of the many selections from the essays of Addison, Sir James Fraser's compilation is out and out the best.

We cannot have too much of the writings of the late Miss Margaret Noble, better known to us as the Sister Nivedita and we extend a hearty welcome to a recent collection of her essays, brought together from various sources, under the title of *Footfalls of Indian History* (Longmans, Green & Co., London and Bombay). Like her *Studies from an Eastern Home*, the essays, in the volume under notice, have been collected from priodicals but they were well worth being permanently preserved. Sister Nivedita was steeped to her eyes in Indian thought and culture and possessed an insight into Indian Art and Religion which has been rivalled by very few foreigners. Besides she had a most charming style which adorned all that she handled. Her essays are therefore of immense value to students of Indian history and literature, who will peruse *Footfalls of Indian History* with pleasure and profit. The book is embellished with excellent photographic illustrations as also some in colours by Indian artists, which materially add to the attractions of a singularly interesting and instructive work. The volume is a valuable contribution to the historical literature dealing with Ancient India.

Mr. S. V. Doraiswami, a South Indian publicist, has brought together from he periodicals a series of papers under the title of *Indian Finance, Currency and nking* (Mylapore, Madras). He appends to the essays a series of appendices deal- g with various aspects of the Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Finance nd Currency. As the papers were written on different occasions, there is some verlapping in them, which might well have been removed by subjecting them to reful revision. Nevertheless there is a great deal of useful information to be leaned from a perusal of these papers which are well worth the attention of stu- dents of the subject. There is an excellent, select bibliography at the end and the ook as a whole can be safely commended to those interested in Indian economics.

The edition of the Code of Criminal Procedure by the late Mr. Sohoni is justly egarded as one of the standard commentaries on the adjective, criminal law of India. Its recent issues under the editorship of Mr. N. T. Shamanna, M. A., B. L, Vakil, Madras High Court, have not only fully maintained but even enhanced its igh reputation. The present eighth edition, just published in a handsome volume (the Deccan Book Agency, Poona) is fully abreast of the case-law up to the time f going to the press—July last. Thoroughly revised, the notes and commentaries recast in the light of later decisions, and all the amendments of the Act since the publication of the last edition incorporated in it, the present edition is an almost ideal text-book on the subject of Indian Criminal Procedure and reflects the highest credit on the editor, the printers, Messrs. Addison & Co. of Madras, and on the publishers.

It is nearly thirty years since the first edition of Mr. A. W. Benn's *Greek Philosophers* saw the light. In the new edition (Smith, Elder & Co, London), we are informed by the author, he has compressed into it the result of his arduous studies since the first edition was published. The book is a comprehensive and luminous survey of Greek philosophy from Thales (seventh century B. C.) to the last of the original neo-Platomists (fifth century, A. D.). In his review of the earlier Greek thinkers, the author traverses the ground covered at greater length by Professor Burnet in the second edition of his *Early Greek Philosophy* ahd his more recent *Greek Philosophy from Thales to Plato*, to which students may be referred for a more detailed exposition than is available in Mr. Benn's book, the great advantage of which, however, over Professor Burnet's books is that it covers the whole ground of Greek philosophy from its origin to its decline. Designed, evidently, as a concise compendium for the student as a groundwork and guide in his studies, Mr. Benn's *Greek Philosophers* forms an almost ideal introductory text-book for beginners. Mr. Benn's trenchant summaries of the contributions of the Greek philosophers to the Problem of Reality—which dominates their systems from beginning to end—are models of concise and scholarly exposition and the book, as a whole, is a highly useful addition to the ranks of the histories of philosophy.

The late Sir Alfred Lyall was not only a capable Anglo-Indian administrator, but a distinguished man of letters and the two volumes of his well-known *Asiatic Studies* belong to the small group of books on India which are of permanent value and abiding interest. His son-in-law, Sir John Miller—once Chief Secretary to the Government of Agra and Oudh and later a member of the Governor-General's Executive Council—has done well to bring together a collection of literary essays selected from his contribution to the periodicals. These form not only interesting reading, but instructive studies of the subjects they deal with. The four that will appeal specially to readers in India are *The Anglo-Indian Novelist*, *Frontiers*

Ancient and Modern, Race and Religion and *The State in its Relation to Eastern and Western Religions.* But the others are no less informing and attractive. We share the editor's hope that a collection of Sir Alfred's writings on India may be published in due course. A third series of *Asiatic Studies* would be no less welcome than the first and the second. In the meantime we commend the present collection called *Studies in Literature and History* (John Murray, London).

In the "Quest Series," edited by Mr. G. R. S. Mead (George Bell & Sons, Ltd., London) Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, M. A., contributes a volume called *Buddhist Psychology*, which is an interesting enquiry into the analysis and theory of mind as developed in the Pali literature. In the past none have laboured in the science of Psychology with greater industry and acumen than the Buddhists. Their whole philosophy is based on psychology ; and they have accomplished much, both in the accuracy of their theory, and in the assistance they drew from that theory in their practical system of ethical training without dogma. Neither this theory nor this practice has been hitherto explained in a manner suitable for use by enquirers in the West into this important subject. It is with the hope of meeting this want that the present valuable summary of Buddhist Psychology has been secured by the editor from the pen of one who is acknowledged to be the most competent student of the subject in Western Europe. Though dealing with an abstruse and recondite subject, the book is conceived and and written on more or less popular lines and should appeal to a large circle of readers—both the students of Buddhism and those of Psychology.

In view of the recent opening of the Panama Canal and the Great American Exhibition which is being held to mark its inauguration the literature of the subject is growing apace—especially in the United States. Of the scores of books published during the last few months, perhaps the most useful and attractive is the new, revised edition of Mr. Arthur Bullard's *Panama : The Canal, the Country and the People* (Macmillan & Co., London and New York, U. S. A.). The book was originally published some three years back but the author has added two new chapters, besides carefully revising the work, which is now fully up-to-date and the attractiveness of which is enhanced by the text being embellished with a large number of excellent photographic reproductions. Those desirous of obtaining a general knowledge of the country and the greatest feat in engineering may do worse than study Mr. Bullard's excellent book which is alike interesting and informing.

The Kasidah of Haji Abdu-El-Yezdi : A Law of the Higher Law by Sir Richard F. Burton, newly edited with an Introduction and illustrated with a portrait frontispiece in photogravure is beautifully printed on hand-made paper (Hutchinson & Co., London.) The *Kasidah* has been described by some of Sir Richard Burton's admirers as his masterpiece. Originally published in 1880 and under the pseudonym of Abdu-El-Yezdi, the poem has long been out of print. In the United States, owing to an absence of copyright, it has enjoyed great popularity in unauthorised reprints, perhaps because it has appealed strongly to those who belong to the cult of Omar Kayyam. It certainly contains lines which are worthy of survival. The new edition has been carefully edited by Mr. Roger Ingpen, who in a "Foreword" gives interesting information about the author and his work, which should appeal to all lovers of the literature of mysticism.

Four new volumes of the "Home University Library" are now ready. (Williams and Norgate, London). Mr. R. C. K. Ensor writes a volume of exceptional interest, called *Belgium*, which will appeal to all lovers of that country of brave people. Mr. Clement C. J. Webb, Fellow of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford, writes a *History of Philosophy* which is a most excellent compendium of the subject. Mr. John Bailey, author of *Dr. Johnson and His Circle* in the Library, has prepared a notable volume, on Milton who is treated alike as man, politician, essayist, and poet. Written by this excellent writer on literature the volume may be well regarded as the final word on the most devotional poet England has ever produced, who still has much to teach us in this crisis. The last volume in this batch is *Political Thought in England from Spencer to the Present Day* by Mr. Ernest Barker. When the whole political reconstruction of Europe is approaching, a brief epitome of the doctrines of the political teachers of the last fifty years will be found most useful. The book deals with the views of Spencer, Bradley, Bosanquet, Green, Cobden, and with the leading men down to the present day, and has a most interesting and sympathetic discussion of Mr. Norman Angell's theories. Altogether the latest additions are not the least notable in this excellent series, which now numbers more than one hundred volumes of popular works on all branches of human knowledge, written by specialist and experts.

Mr. Havell's latest and most important work—called *Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India* (John Murray, London,) deals with fundamental questions relating to the Indian Empire which the war of nations against German militarism only makes more pressing. It is the first attempt of a European writer to use the materials afforded by the great architectural monuments of ancient and medieval India for a connected and concise study of Indo-Aryan history and polity from the Indian and Aryan point of view. It traces the origin of Indo-Aryan civilisation in the organisation of the ancient village communities, and throws much new light on the political, social, and religious ideals which were the leading motifs of Indo-Aryan culture. The attempt to demonstrate the entire fallacy of Fergusson's analysis of Indian architecture, the detailed information relating to the Indian science of town-planning and other practical questions, will certainly arouse much interest in architectural and archæological circles; while the explanations of Indian symbolism and allegory, the descriptions and sumptuous illustrations of the classics of Indian architecture, sculpture and painting, make it perhaps the most attractive of the author's works on Indian art. Owing to the inability of both European writers to read the symbolic languages of Indian artists, the great mass of historical material contained in the monuments of ancient and medieval history has hitherto been as a sealed book. The author having discovered the key to these Indian hieroglyphics attempts in this volume to draw an outline of the history of Indian civilization from the time of Asoka down to the Muhammadan invasions as revealed in Indian monuments. He thus not only completes the review of Indian architecture which he began in his last work, but opens out a new field of historical research which is practically inexhaustible. The organization of the Aryan village communities in its religious, political and artistic relationships, and the Indian science of town-planning are dealt with more fully than they have been by any other writer. The explanations given of Indian myths and allegories will prove of great interest both to oriental scholars and to the general public, as well as to architects and archæologists. The volume is fully illustrated with the finest examples of Indian buildings, paintings and sculptures of the classic age of Indian art. It is a most valuable and notable contribution to the literature of Ancient and Medieval India and will long remain an indispensable work on the subject it deals with. We hope to publish in due course a comprehensive appreciation of Mr. Havell's monumental work.

Madhava and Radha (from Vidyapati): A Poem.

By **Mr. N. GUPTA.**

SOFTLY Hari stept from behind
And caught the chain round Radha's neck ;
Startled she turned, half the chain
Clung round Radha's throat and half
Lay in Madhava's hand.
In simulated anger Radha turned her eyes
On Hari and he smiled at her,
And she smiled and their lips met.
As he held her, drawing her close,
The flowers fell from her hair
As the stars fall from the giddy and reeling Night.

Topics of The Day.

By An " Indian Nationalist. "

THE EASTER WEEK.

IF the Christmas week is generally devoted to the National Congress and allied All-India Conferences, the Easter is one of provincial gatherings. The United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, and Bengal,—and a few districts of Madras, too—all had their conferences in the first week of April. On the 2nd inst. was held the ninth cession of

THE UNITED PROVINCES CONFERENCE.

under the distinguished presidency of Mrs. Besant. In a very splendid address—it would be presumptuous to attempt to characterise it—full of constructive schemes and practical suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the province and the uplift of the country in general, she deals with some of the most important and pressing political problems of present-day India. Referring to the war, she, at the outset, corrects the provocative and dangerous misconception that India's wholehearted loyalty is " a blank cheque of approval of the way in which India is governed, a certificate of the perfection of the Bureaucracy, and of the wish of India to remain ever in a state of pupilage under their benign guidance." Nevertheless our loyalty does not arise from any selfish motives and does not inflict any conditions on our rulers for fulfilment, though this absolute devotion does not mean " surrender of her rights, nor any faltering in her claim for freedom." " She makes no bargain. She disdains to chaffer. But after the war is over as before the war began, she claims liberty; she claims self-government; and she claims these not as a reward but as a right." The granting to Indians of commissions in the army, their enrolment as volunteers for the defence of their country and the repeal of the Arms Act should be sedulously pressed until the Government respond to the appeal. Then again, India shall, in the common Empire, have a footing of equality with the other self-governing dominions. Why should she stand, asks Mrs. Besant, on a lower level than Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa? " Her brain power is, to say the very least, as good as theirs; man for man she is their equal; her literature is great; her civilisation older, her fighters as gallant, her merchants as shrewd, her labourers as skilful and more artistic, her manufactures—before she was ruled by foreigners—immensely in advance of those of Europeans, and sought for eagerly in the world's markets; why is she ever to remain in tutelage? And who has the right to give to her, or to withhold from her freedom? She is no pauper, begging for alms, for the crumbs of freedom that fall from the tables of Western Liberty. She is a discrowned Queen, claiming her heritage." The President endorses Lord Hardinge's idea of reciprocity with the colonies and demands that exactly the measure meted out to India by each colony shall be the measure meted out to each colony by India. Then coming to questions of provincial importance, she, first of all, discusses the Executive Council affair. We have it, on the authority of Lord Curzon, that the United Provinces is "one of the most enlightened and progressive provinces in India," and yet we have the sorry and absurd spectacle of the proclamation being rejected by the House of Lords—and this too, when the superiority of Council Government to one-man rule has passed out of the arena of controversy, and this principle actually recognised in the case of the newly-constituted unit of Bihar and Orissa. After tracing the history of this question and vigorously denouncing the "foolish action" of the three old enemies of Indian liberty—Lord Macdonnell, Lord Curzon, and "hovering behind them the uncoronated ghost of Sir John Hewett, not yet translated, still hovering round the gates of paradise," she explains the right answer to the House of Lords is "to take the matter out of their hands." The only way of putting an end to the most undesirable agitation they have provoked, says Mrs. Besant, and to restore the injured prestige of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, and the Liberal Government itself, is to answer their abuse of power by depriving them of the power to do further mischief in this respect. This can be done by utilising the Act of 1833 and creating a Governorship in Council for Agra and Oudh, and thus raising the province higher than the proclamation would have made. By far the most important portions of her address are those relating to the Hindu-Mahommedan question and Provincial Autonomy. One may or may not agree with all that she says on these questions of vital interest, but it would be difficult for one not to be struck by the practical wisdom, the suggestive reasonableness and the sound common sense of her remarks. The first principle to be observed in connection with the Hindu-Mussalman problem is:—"When differences of religious beliefs exists, the Civil Government must absolutely ignore them, and in civic status, rights and liberties religious differences must not be recognised. Religious belief must be neither an advantage nor a disadvantage in civic affairs; it must entail neither privilege nor penalty." It is conceded that the principle of helping backward communities is sound if the community is helped *qua* backwardness but not *qua* religion. Mrs. Besant contends the giving of electoral privileges is a triple evil; "in a separate electorate it is not, as a rule, the strongest man of a community who comes to the top—he goes to an open electorate; then a separate electorate is felt to be a privilege, and the tendency of such an electorate is rather to preserve the lower condition which gave rise to it, than to stimulate the community to improve; improvement, would cost them their privilege. Unearned privileges debilitate; they do not strengthen." The President thinks minority representation is desirable and suggests it should take the form of proportional representation, by making electorates very large, each returning a considerable number of representatives, each elector having a number of votes equal to the number of representatives to be returned by the whole electorate, and being free to divide them among the candidates or to plump them all for one. We are told Mr. Gokhale was in favour of introducing this plan into municipalities. To the people she suggests that in voluntary matters, every town in which there is strife between Hindus and Musalmans should elect a Conciliation Board of leading citizens, who should deliberately prepare for any approaching difficulty, and agree on the action to be taken. Mrs. Besant advocates universal free and compulsory education. Indian education should be shaped and guided by Indians, and be directed to the supply of useful citizens and not Government servants. Education should be religious, intellectual, moral and physical. The president of the Gorakhpur Conference then deals with provincial autonomy. The plan of self-Govenrment she submits for discussion is one which builds up from below, starting with village panchayats going on to successively large areas, until provincial autonomy is secured, and then will come the crowning of the Provincial Parliament with a National Parliament, while the Parliament of the Empire will be formed of representatives from the constituent and federated self-governing dominions. Mrs. Besant outlines a definite scheme of self-government, which totally differs from that prevailing in the west. Devolution, which is the basis in western countries, she condemns as an awkward process; evolution which she advocates for adoption in India is natural and easy. Shall we not try to evolve, she asks. The one-man one-vote plan she considers crude. Under her scheme more value is attached to education, knowledge and moral character than wealth or religion. From the village panchayat upwards to the National Parliament eligibility depends on the attainment of a certain age, the older the higher we go It would be useless to believe that the immediate termination of the war, or even the near future, will see India installed as a self-governing country and opinions might differ as to the futility at this stage of any proposals being made and cut-and-dried plans formulated for self-government. Mrs. Besant also does not say the last word on the subject. She embodies her ideas for discussion, and though such discussion might not result in autonomous administration for India, it will at least have the advantage of informing and instructing the rulers on Indian feeling in the matter. I have confined myself more to a review of the points touched by Mrs. Besant in her address than to a comment on it as a whole, for it would be impertinent for me to attempt to praise such a remarkable dissertation.

THE BIHAR PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

The address delivered by Mr. Nand Kishore Lall as President of the seventh session of the Bihar Provincial Conference was of a wholly different sort. It was couched in a different form, dealt with different subjects and was in many respects markedly dissimilar. He restricts himself to a discussion of topics of more or less provincial interest. His paragraphs on "The War and India," "The Educated Classes, their Loyalty and Aspirations," "New Problems after the War" and "India and Lord Hardinge" go beyond the confines of provincial topics, and he did well in echoing the views of his province on these subjects which are now engaging the serious consideration of all and sundry. According to Mr. Nand Kishore Lall the problems that will have to be tackled by the Government as soon as the war comes to a close are "the satisfactory settlement of the Indian question in the British colonies, the conferment upon the Indians of commissions in the Army, the introduction of a system for volunteering amongst the Indians, the establishment of one or more military colleges for training the Indians in the principles and practices of modern warfare, considerable relaxation of the stringent provisions of the Arms Act, and above all a much larger recruitment of the Army from amongst the comparatively speaking mere indigenous classes of the population, not excluding those in our own province." It is his fervent hope, as it is that of every knowing Indian, that His Excellency Lord Hardinge's term of office may be extended for a term long enough to enable him to adjust the many Indian problems which have already arisen in consequence of the war and shall come up for settlement at its close. Barring those enumerated above, the President has exclusively devoted his observations to questions affecting his own province of Bihar and Orissa—relations between the Biharees and the Oriyas, the Biharees and the Bengalees, the Hindus and the Mahommedans, the planters and the people, the work of the local Legislative Council and Councillors, Education, Sanitation and Local Self-Government, the Patna High Court, and the Local Government. I do not want to deal with all these provincial topics but I would refer to two—the High Court question and a more liberal system of administration—more by virtue of the sound principles involved in the proposals than of the proposals themselves. The President wants to see that the High Court not only bears the name but is so constituted as to be "the greatest palladium of the lives and liberties of the people and their greatest bulwark against executive high-handedness." As a humorous speaker said at one of the sessions of the Indian National Congress. "We want a High Court not so high as the tower of Babel, so as to be beyond the reach of ordinary suitors, nor so low as to be within the reach of the impious hands of calumny. We want a High Court just as high as this lighthouse of yours (at Madras), to be a torchlight to the erring officials, and beaconlight to suffering humanity." Every one is right glad that Lord Hardinge's sympathetic and broad-minded statesmanship has secured for Bihar a High Court. But will it be of the same status as the Calcutta High Court, which has all along been dispensing justice to the Biharees, and as that which has always been demanded by enlightened Indian opinion on the Congress platform? That is the crux of the question. An interpellation was asked in the Imperial Legislative Council, the reply to which is by no means reassuring. To have a High Court which is under the thumb of the Local Government is always undesirable; and in these days of excessive executive interference, it is positively dangerous. To be under the administrative control of the Government of India, as is the Calcutta High Court, guarantees independence and, as a corollary, impartial and fearless administration of justice. It is too late in the day to enter into a dissertation on the necessity of allowing the largest possible measure of independence to the

High Courts. With the exception of those few persons, who see in executive interference with everything, including dispensation of justice, a panacea for all mundane evils and who are obsessed by the notion of omniscience of the members of the heaven-born service and of the desirability of making the bench subordinate to the executive officials, no one would seriously object to the control of the High Courts by the Government of India. I recognise the force of the criticism that the independence of a judge must come from within himself. But does not outside environment also to a large extent affect it? Is it not a fact that the existing system mars to a certain extent judical independence? It is freedom from the clutches of the Local Government, more than anything else, that has made the Calcutta High Court what it is and secured for it the unstinted confidence and esteem of the public. It is to be hoped the Government of India will reconsider their views on the status of the Patna High Court, for says Mr. Nand Kishore Lall, any alteration in this respect "will evoke an amount of discontent which will go far in neutralising the beneficent intention which the Government of India has had in view in giving this province the highest judical tribunal."

There is another question, dealt with by the President, which, though relating to Bihar, involves a principle of much importance, *viz.*, that of Presidency Government. "A bureaucratic Government like ours—presided over by three members of the Indian Civil Service and only one Indian nominee of the Government—"said Mr. Nand Kishore Lall, "is obviously not the best conceived." He is of opinion—and he undoubtedly represents the views of the thinking section of the community—that "it cannot be conducive to our progress to have at the head of our Government a civilian who, howsoever experienced, becomes naturally incapable of assimilating fresh and progressive ideas by reason of his long residence in this country." It is with this object that he asks the Conference to press with all the strength and earnestness at their command for the elevation of the province to the status of a Presidency Government which was definitely promised as far back as 1853, and is thus long since overdue. On the superiority of a Presidency Government with a British statesman at its head whose position and antecedents command the deference and support of his colleagues and who comes out to this country with a fresh mind which is capable of perceiving the Indian aspect of questions, as opposed to the civilian, to a Lieutenant-Governorship, albeit with an Executive Council, drawn from the ranks of the Indian Civil Service who, by his long stay in India, has his vision rather dimly marred and who is invariably noted for illiberalism and lack of sympathy though not for want of ability, there can be no two opinions among reasonable men. This system has the blessings of the Decentralisation Commission itself, and a comparison of the tone of administration as carried on in Madras, Bombay and Bengal, with that in Behar and other provinces makes the point quite clear. It is therefore not only because of the pledge given to Bihar more than sixty years ago, but because of the soundness of the reform that the Bihar Provincial Conference demands a Presidency Government. I earnestly trust that the Biharees will succeed if only they agitate sincerely—and loudly—enough to convince the Secretary of State of the strength and volume of feeling in its favour.

THE BENGAL PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE

In marked contrast to the two addresses noticed above is that of Mr. Motilal Ghose, President of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Krishnagar. Lacking in the fiery vigour and constructive ability of the one and the exceeding candidness and reasoned argumentation of the other, Mr. Ghose's utterance is characterised by visionary ideals, meaningless platitudes and impractiable schemes. A note of suppressed feeling pervades the whole address, and a careful reader is struck by the conflict of thought and expression. Reading between the lines one finds in the speech an insidious attempt to revive the question of political boycott and to exhort the audience to use it as a weapon against the Government to obtain the concession they desire, an act which was a miserable failure even when discontent, disaffection and sedition were at a climax a few years ago. Agitation and speech-making such as are displayed in the conferences are deprecated and universal passive resistance, though the President apparently labours under a lack of courage to use this powerful expression, is advocated. The public workers of the country who indulge in talking in the Congress, Leagues and Conferences are compared to a pack of dogs barking to draw the attention of their masters, and " when no heed is paid to their appeal, they of necessity give up barking-- that is what their animal instincts teach them." Human beings are also animals possessing similar instincts, and as their representations are in the opinion of Mr. Motilal Ghose, not listened to by the authorities the only course left open to these human political barkers would be to give up barking in these conferences. The inability of these organisations is stated in the following words :—" Possessing no political authority either to remedy a defect or to supply a deficiency, the conclusions they arrive at do not count for much. They have to submit the outcome of their deliberations to the rulers of the band for their kind consideration. They can, however, take no action to compel the latter to pay proper attention to their decisions. Knowing this very well, our rulers more often than not pass them over in silence or contempt Are we then to continue this method or replace it by a more practical one." That is the "momentous question" which he puts to the assembled delegates, and his own answer is, "discontinue the present method." What is the " more practical one" by which he wishes to replace this ? It is not to co-operate with the Government but to oppose them, or as he puts it, opposition-cum-co-operation. This he defines as constitutional opposition as a rule, and co-operation only when beneficial to the best interests of the country. This is just the reverse of the attitude adopted by a section of our leaders, who, he suggests by inuendo are sycophants, *viz.*, " rather co-operation with, than opposition to, Government." Our public workers are advised not to be " constantly expatiating on the blessings of English rule, etc. otherwise they would not be respected but regarded as ' hypocrites.' " The Government do certainly know whom to respect more—the stalwart oppositionist of Governmental measures *qua* Governmental measures—Mr. Moti Lal Ghose—or the fearless champion of popular rights, the late Mr. Gokhale. To boycott the civil and criminal courts, to give up mutual quarrels, to boycott legislative councils and local bodies, to thwart the action of the Government at every step by an incessant storm of opposition, to be left free to manage their own affairs with absolutely no interference by the Government are all pleasing to contemplate upon, but I am afraid Mr. Motilal Ghose and his select circle of admirers must wait till doomsday to see the millenium dawn. Mr. Ghose boasts in the very beginning of his address of unanimity among Bengal public men, the absence of differences as " conventionists " and non-conventionists " and so on and so forth. I wonder if all in Bengal are in whole-hearted agreement with Mr. Ghose's remarks and sentiments On the whole I cannot conceive of a more inopportune moment than the present for the deliverance of an address like Mr. Motilal Ghose's.

THE UNITED PROVINCES EXECUTIVE COUNCIL QUESTION.

Robust optimists are few in this world and I have no doubt many who have read of the action of the House of Lords in rejecting he Executive Council Scheme for the United Provinces would be inlined to endorse and justify some of Mr. Motilal Ghose's remarks. t is indeed a matter of extreme regret and grave concern that half dozen no-bodies should be allowed to divert a sound administrative ystem into wholly undesirable and dangerous channels. It would be ifficult for the most moderate man to speak in measured terms of he wrecking work of three reactionary Lords and four unsympatheic civilians. It would be equally difficult to give adequate expression to the indignation and resentment felt in the United Provinces at their deep disappointment in regard to the most vital matter affecting their welfare. Lords Curzon, Macdonnell and Sydenham and Sir John Hewett who have been notorious for their illiberal and bureaucratic tendencies and whose experience of Indian affairs and men are now antiquated; and Sir Robert Carlyle, Sir Harcourt Butler and Sir Reginald Craddock, whose want of sympathy towards Indian aspirations is well known, have succeeded for the time being in plunging a whole province in bitter grief; but they will not be able to permanently stem the tide of Indian progress. If this is a manifestation of the policy of improving the status and liberalising the administrative machinery of India these wreckers have waxed eloquent upon times without number, India might well be prepared from now for the eventuality of the promised reward taking any shape. No useful purpose would be served by entering into an elaborate discussion of the statements made by the handful of reactionary peers and civilians. Their action raises one question of extreme importance, *viz.*, whether a proposal which has behind it the combined weight and support of a Lieutenant-Governor, the Government of India, the Secretary of State for India and the whole educated section of this country should be allowed to be rejected by a small number of men whose connection with India ceased long ago and who are not in touch with the rapid advancement made. I am glad to note that Lord Hardinge has not taken this insult lying low and has taken the lead in raising a crusade against the House of Lords. The necessity of further curtailing the powers of the members of the gilded chamber is amply demonstrated and it is to be hoped His Majesty's Government will seriously take the matter into their consideration. Well might the Liberal weekly, the *Nation* write on the action of the Lords:—" Now this seems to us an unmeant but nonetheless real act of pro-Germanism—a substantial encouragement to the enemy in the field. It will deeply discourage and mortify progressive India in the hour when she has come to help us through a great imperial trial; it will encourage our critics to point against us the old traditional gibe as to our exclusive regard for other people's liberties and the Indian extremist to mock at the hopes of self-government after the war. It represents, indeed, the worst kind of defeat that we can acknowledge at our enemy's hands, the admission that we are afraid to move on and away from his system of centralised, dictatorial Government into the broader paths we had designed for India. What we have now to make India clearly understand is that 'we' are not the House of Lords, and that the House of Lords is merely—itself." Yes, this is the desideratum now and viewing in this light I am gratified to read that Lord Crewe is determined to persevere with the scheme, regardless of the opposition of his brethren. The success of his task will be ensured by taking such action as will entirely remove the matter from the hands of the House of Lords, and this can be done only by utilising the provisions of the statute of 1833. It is the earnest desire of the United Provinces to be placed under a Governor in Council, to which they are eminently entitled and their eligibility for Presidency Government was admitted long ago. I hope the Secretary of State for India will take advantage of this temporary rebuff to secure for the province a higher status than she would enjoy under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council and to thus give the only suitable reply to the lordly and civilian bureaucrats.

THE OPEN FORUM.

Criticisms, Discussions and Comments.

"THE FAILURE OF THE RAILWAY BOARD."

THE *Hindustan Review* came to hand this day (3rd April). Need I say I was greatly pleased with the terse but comprehensive paper of the "Onlooker" on the failure of the Indian Railway Board? It pictures as in a mirror the scores of grievances our countrymen have against the Railways for years past He has focussed them in a brief compass as an expert. He is to be congratulated on producing such a valuable paper at this juncture when the Railways are under trial and our non-official members in the Imperial Council are endeavouring, though as yet faintly, to throw their search-light on them. I hope the Editor has sent copies of the *Review* containing this article to the Government and the Railway Board. What I would do is to have the paper separately reprinted and sent broadcast to every part of the country and 100 copies, if not more, should be sent to the British Committee. The time is ripe for agitation, though of course the war intervenes. But my strong advice is to get the paper reprinted and sown broadcast—notably to each member of the various Councils and to the members of the Imperial Legislative Council. Somewhere in September next when the non-official members meet at Simla, when the Council is held there, they should not only interpellate on the existence of this paper, but call a meeting there demanding reform at the very doors of the Viceroy. It will have a salutary effect. Then the contagion can spread and every province take up the matter relating its own special grievances.—D. E. WACHA.

The *Hindustan Review* for March contains an article under the above heading. The article begins by pointing out that one of the main objects for which the Board was brought into existence was to secure comforts and better treatment for third class passengers. The Board has now been in existence for ten years, and yet little perceptible change has been made. In the opinion of the writer the Board has proved a huge, costly failure. He enumerates the charges that used to be brought against the railway companies in pre-Railway Board days, and endeavours to show that in almost every respect things are almost as they used to be. The interests of third class passengers are still sacrificed to those of first and second class passengers, and among first and second class passengers themselves a preference is shown to Europeans and Anglo-Indians, for whom compartments are reserved in every important railway train. Railway extension and new construction are carried on at an average expenditure of more than ten crores every year, but in no single year since the Board came into existence has a crore of rupees been set apart for securing greater comforts to third class passengers. To make things worse complaints of ill-treatment of third class passengers are by no means infrequent. In 1903 Mr. Robertson wrote:—"I am satisfied that there is a good deal of truth in the complaints of ill-treatment of third class passengers by the native police and by the subordinate station staff." Six yaers later a responsible organ of Anglo-Indian opinion wrote:—"The whole treatment of third class passengers throughout the country is indefensible in any serious reckoning of railway responsibilities." The only action which the Railway Board has taken towards minimising the chances of ill-treatment is that they have appointed passenger-superintendents at *some* stations of *some* Government Railways. Nor is it merely the subordinate railway staff and the subordinate police who are guilty of ill-treatment. Sometimes European and Eurasian passengers too ill-treat Indian passengers, though happily these passengers are a small fraction of the total number. The Railway Board itself recognised the existence of this evil in that it issued a circular to the effect that any passenger who wrongfully obstructed the entry of other passengers into a compartment which did not contain the full number of passengers marked on it should be prosecuted by the companies. Yet not a single prosecution has so far been made; and the Railway Board itself has taken no steps to enforce its order. And these are only a few matters in which, according to the writer, the Board has been found wanting. In his opinion the main reason for the Board's failure is that its members are not debarred from accepting lucrative posts on the directorate of the companies in England. This was also the opinion expressed by a writer in the Calcutta *Empire* who declared in 1911 that the fountain-source of the Board's failure was the dependence of its members on railway companies for personal favours. The matter certainly deserves the serious attention of the Government of India.—The *Panjabee.*

It appears from every successive report of the Board that the largest income of the railways is derived from third-class pasengers. In view of this fact the comfort and convenience of hird-class passengers ought to be the foremost consideration of the oard. But unfortunately it is not. On the other hand facts ave come to public notice indicating that the Board has not perhaps ven taken the hardship of third class passengers seriously. In this onnection the writer in the *Hindustan Review* recalls the memorable reply of the President of the Railway Board to the Hon'ble Mr. Sinha in regard to the fraud committed by the railway companies in charging third-class fare from passengers and yet carrying them in cattle trucks. The President coolly said that as the trains were composed of third-class carriages and cattle trucks mixed, the companies could not take a lower charge from those who were made to travel in trucks The reply created a sensation in the country, and the newspapers suggested a simple remedy, namely, that the trains should not contain mixed carriages. But cattle trucks are still used when necessary as substitutes for third-class carriages.

The public gratefully admits that the Board has occasionally issued circulars aiming at the convenience of third-class passengers, but it has never cared to see that its orders are carried out, and repeated reminders in the Press on the point have had no effect. For example, soon after it came into existence the Railway Board issued a circular to all the railway companies inviting their attention to the necessity of giving facilities to third-class passengers to get their tickets without hardship and in good time. We wonder if the Board is aware that its circular is practically a dead letter The writer in the *Hindustan Review* rightly says that any endeavour to grapple with a serious problem based on an assumption that the companies would do the work if only the Board expressed its desire must fail.

Here is another instance The Railway Board some time ago issued a circular to the effect that any passengers who wrongfully obstructed the entry of other passengers into a compartment which does not contain the full number of passengers marked on it should be prosecuted by the companies. "Since then," says the writer in the *Hindustan Review*, "there have been many cases in which European and Anglo-Indian passengers and travelling railway servants have committed the offence. But not one of them is ever prosecuted" The Railway Board cannot be unaware of the sensational case in which the lawful entry of three Parsi ladies holding first-class tickets was obstructed by four European lady passengers at Manmad Junction on the 28th February, 1911, and which upset the mental equilibrium of even Mr. Malabari.

Here is one more instance. Section 102 of the Indian Railways Act says that any railway servant who compels or attempts to compel or causes any passenger to enter a compartment which already contains the maximum number of passengers shall be punished with fine which may extend to twenty rupees. But the section is openly defied at all times by railway servants without any of them being taken to task on that account. In the fifth year of the Board's regime the *Indian Engineering* wrote:—

> "Not only are passengers permitted to stuff compartments beyond their assigned accommodation, but railway officials have often been known and can always be seen to thrust passengers into well-filled carriages to their own manifest sufferings and to the sufferings of others already penned in."

In the recent famous Madura case the passenger who resisted forcible overcrowding by railway servants was dragged out of his compartment and handed over to the Police. Though the court has decided in his favour, the Railway Board, so far as public information goes, has not ordered the prosecution of the offenders as provided by Section 102 of the Indian Railways Act.

The story of the hardships of third class passengers is too long for any number of newspaper articles. As the writer in the *Hindustan Review* perhaps rightly points out, the facts and evidence he has collected on the subject would run into a volume as big as the British Encyclopædia. We still hope the Railway Board will try to come up to the expectations of the public in this matter. The Hon'ble Mr. R. W. Gillan, who has been appointed President of the Board in place of Sir Henry Burt, is not a member of the Railway Service, as is significantly pointed out by the *Pioneer*. But he is said to be a good and able man, and it not unoften happens that a layman, or freshman you may call him, is less halting than an "expert" in effecting necessary reforms.—The *Bulletin*.

As much as ninety per cent. of the railway income, as we have shown in our previous articles on the subject, is derived from third-class passengers On the other hand, the first and second class traffic, as the writer in the *Hindustan Review* we recently quoted has shown on reliable authority, generally involves the railway companies in heavy loss. Yet it is "ticket! ticket! ticket!" in a sharp tone before a third-class compartment and a most polite and mellifluous "ticket please" before a first or second class compartment. A sleeping third-class passenger can be poked or pushed with the ticket-checker's key to show his ticket, while a first or second class passenger who is lying upon his back with closed eyes cannot be disturbed for a trifling matter like showing a ticket. An esteemed correspondent gives an amusing instance of personal experience in this direction :—" I happened to be a second-class passenger on the North-Western Railway the other day. At a certain station I was alone in the compartment and was deeply absorbed in a mental problem. Absent-mindedly I looked askance at the window at my side, and had a vague impression that it was a mirror in which my face was reflected I looked up and saw that it was a bead-eyed, bottle-nosed face which was certainly not mine. That gave me a start, and as I stared at it the wonderful face expanded into a grin, and from out of the cavity between the elongated lips came an humble apology for having been the unwilling cause of my disturbance. Asked as to who he was, he said he was 'a ticket collector, please.' To my further enquiry as to the cause of his hesitation to ask for my ticket, he said that as I was not looking in his direction he was waiting for my pleasure to give him an opportunity to do so. The smile on his face turned into a snarl the very next moment before a third-class compartment, and he frothed and foamed because a foolish passenger had lifted a glass of water to his lips when he ought to have hastened to show his ticket."

So far with the difference of treatment at the hands of railway underlings between the most paying poor and the least paying rich. Now a word about personal comforts." " Not a little," says the *Jam-i-Jamshid* of Bombay, a paper not given to irresponsible utterances, " of what the companies have been taking from the third-class passengers is being expended in the comforts and requirements of their first and second class fellow-travellers." In spite of the continuous complaints of overcrowding of third-class passengers, says the writer in the *Hindustan Review*, the railway companies continue to put on every train as few 3rd class carriages as possible, alleging all the time that the trains carry full load and consequently no more carriages can be provided. But whenever it is a question of catering for the higher classes of passengers or of attaching officers' saloons or extra luggage or horse vans or trucks with gas cylinders, " the argument about full load vanishes into thin air and the load is increased without the least hesitation." A more notable instance of oiling the anointed head is scarcely conceivable.

"The whole treatment of third-class passengers throughout the country," says *Indian Engineering*, "is indefensible in any serious reckoning of railway administration" The only remedy apparently lies in the State control of railways, for which public opinion has already pronounced itself in unmistakable terms through its rightful exponents in the Imperial Legislative Council. The necessity for such restraint, it may be pointed out, has been emphasised by the highest official authorities "I trust," said Lord Dalhousie, "they will avoid the error of viewing railways as private undertakings and will regard them as national works over which the Government may justly exercise and is called upon to exercise a stringent and salutary control. This control should not be an arbitrary right to interference, but a regulated authority defined and declared by law which is not to be needlessly or vexatiously exercised, but which in my humble judgment is necessary at once for the interests of the State and for the protection of the public." Sir H. M. Durand, who a few years ago occupied a prominent position in the Viceroy's Executive Council, said that a "public monopoly of the magnitude of the Indian railways must remain in public, not slip into private hands ; must be administered for the progress and welfare of the general public as well as for the benefit of the railway companies ; and that these all-important objects could only be secured by active, efficient, authoritative control of the Government of India.' An obvious solution of the problem is the transfer of the centre of control to a single State department located in India and amenable to public opinion, as against, as at present, in different Boards of Directors in London. The whole country looks to Lord Hardinge for necessary reforms in this direction. His Excellency has stood for the poor, the hungry and the oppressed in India, and third-class passengers on Indian railways can confidently look forward to relief at His Excellency's hands if only their wails can reach him —The *Bulletin*.

The Railway Board, which was constituted in 1905, has been in existence for a decade, and the interesting question arises as to how far that body has fulfilled the responsibilities which it was charged with and to what extent the objects for which it was established have been realised. The duties assigned to the Board were the initiation of proposals of programme for the construction of railways, discussion of larger questions of Railway policy, keeping a strict control over the working of Company-worked lines, administration of state-owned and state-worked lines, carrying out of new works and the improvement of Railway management with regard to both economy and public convenience. The Railway Board in the first few years of its existence is understood to have exercised some strict control over the Companies, and the Inchcape Conference of 1908 and the visit of Lord Inchcape 1912 were the outcome of the powerful influence brought to bear on the Secretary of State by the directorate of companies in England who resented the interference of the Government of India and clamoured for a greater degree of independence But, during the last few years, the working of the Railway system in India has been causing acute discontent, in respect of most of its branches. For instance, the difficulty experienced in making companies keep down their working expenses has been great. The tariff rates have been some of them differential in character, and while they have tended to encourage imports of foreign merchandise, they have at the same time had the effect of rendering the free movement of articles of indigenous manufacture very difficult and costly. The anomalous nature of tariff rates, consequent upon the anxiety of companies to project their income and interests, have disfigured the administration of Railways, while the complaints about the inadequacy of sufficient rolling stock have been growing louder and louder. The discussions that took place in the Imperial Legislative Council in the year 1912 and 1914 and also last month, have faithfully reflected popular opinion on the subject. One of the specific objects of constituting the Railway Board was to ensure public convenience, and it is notorious how inefficiently this duty has been discharged. The scandalous way in which trains are allowed to be overcrowded, the cruel methods adopted in providing accommodation for third class passengers in goods waggons and cattle trucks, the annoying ill-treatment to which the passengers are subjected and the ungracious racial preferences shown constitute a standing monument proclaiming inaptitude of the Railway Board. An incisive article appears on this subject, from the pen of "An Indian Onlooker" in the March number of the *Hindustan Review* where the writer has brought an array of formidable charges against the Railway Board. Overcrowding is now a regular feature on most Railway lines, and though third class passengers contribute about 17 to 18 crores of rupees, the Board is anxious rather to propitiate the demand for extension and provide luxuries to second and first class passengers who contribute the least in bulk, than to arrange to meet the bare necessities of the third class passengers It is not the case that the Board is ignorant of the indecent practices resorted to, for instance, in forcing passengers into waggons and trucks. But the Board would appear to have discovered that they rather like travelling in these vehicles in unsheltered splendour, that "there are strong reasons for believing that third class passengers like waggons for travelling." The Board is even aware of the fact that in England, at times when traffic is heavy, cattle trucks are not requisitioned. But the Board possesses special knowledge of the difference in the mental attitude of Indian and English passengers in the preference of the form of carriages usually utilised for the conveyance of other than human cargo. The Board was asked whether it was proper to charge third class fares on passengers who were carried in waggons. But the reply was, as usual, unsatisfactory and failed to meet the point. Connected with this matter is the liability of a Railway servant who forces into a compartment more passengers than it is meant to accommodate. But this provision of law is rarely used and is almost a dead letter. The horrors of the booking office, especially in important stations, the hardships endured by people in the process of obtaining tickets, the absence of water-closets in some Railways, the scandalous ill-treatment which third class passengers meet with are black spots in the administration which have continued to remain. The politeness of Railway staff to European and Anglo-Indian passengers is in striking contrast to the insults heaped on the Indian passengers, and this is only part of the policy of racial preference pursued by the staff who respect the slightest wish of the European and neglect the most crying needs of the Indian passenger. The administration indirectly encourages this differential treatment by permitting Railway Companies to reserve carriages for Europeans and Eurasians. Says the *Jami Jamshed*:—

> "Oftener than not it is a most distressing and humiliating sight to see poor but respectable Indians who have paid their fares in the same coins of the realm as their more-favoured fellow travellers huddled and packed in conveyances that go by courtesy under the name of carriages, while Madrasi cooks and butlers strutting in a short coat and a pair of trousers, and converted Mahars and a non-descript sort of persons dignified under the name of Europeans and Eurasians lolling in empty compartments and sneeringly watching the wanton cruelty and insult to which respectable sons of the soil are subjected by insolent imperious officials under the ægis of the fine words "Reserved for Europeans and Eurasians."

The companies are also not a little emboldened, says the writer, in this policy of racial preference, by the unsatisfactory and stereotyped replies given to interpellations in the Legislative Councils. The writer attributes much of these evil consequences to the fact that the members of the Board are not debarred from accepting lucrative posts on the directorate of companies in England. A prohibition of the kind promulgated by the Secretary to the Colonies, who has ordered that colonial governors or gentlemen who have held high positions in the colonial service should not accept directorships of companies operating in the districts in which they held office, is absolutely necessary, if any real improvement in Indian Railway Administration is to ensue. Again the staff of Railways should be told that, to quote the language of the Lieutenant-Goveanor of the United Provinces, "manifestations of grave defects of temper and repeated loss of self-control should be regarded as constituting inefficiency." Not only this, but cases of punishments for breaches of this rule should be published in the Government "Gazettes."—The *Hindu*.

INDIAN INDUSTRIALISM.

In the course of a very informing and thoughtful article on the subject a writer in the current number of the *Hindustan Review* gives some interesting and instructive figures regarding our foreign trade so often pointed at as an index of India's prosperity. These figures show that our seaborne trade with foreign countries is steadily developing. The aggregate of imports and exports of private merchandise amounted in 1900 to 185 crores of rupees. In 1911 it was 365 crores. That is, it increased 97 per cent. in twelve years. In 1913 it was of the value of 432 crores of rupees. These, indeed, are colossal figures calculated to impress the imagination of the layman at first sight. But a closer examination of these will dispel the illusion. For it would then appear that our exports consist almost wholly of raw products, while our imports consist mostly of manufactured articles. India, in short, is supplying raw material for articles manufactured in Europe for her own markets. She is the labourer that digs the soil for others to build palaces. The seaborne trade of Germany alone with India is a striking illustration of this fact. It is greater than that of any other country except Great Britain. In the year 1912-13, for example, Germany exported to India merchandise, mainly manufactured articles, of the value of Rs. 10,30,33,905, and imported from here merchandise—mainly raw products like cotton, jute, seeds, hide, skin, &c.—worth Rs. 24,86,33,145. The same is the case with our trade with Austria and other European countries, and the writer in the *Hindustan Review* perhaps rightly observes that a country which simply knows how to export raw produce and import manufactured articles can never be a prosperous country. The painful significance of the situation has at last been brought home to the Government and the people by the War, and with an emphasis which nothing short of an event of such colossal magnitude could have done. All our seaborne trade with Germany and Austria is stopped, and much of our raw produce will remain as a surplus in our country awaiting development. Neither the people nor the Government are in a position to take full advantage of the opportunity, and what adds poignancy to the situation, deplorable as it is, is that such an opportunity may not come again. Nevertheless, as the writer points out, something ought to be done, seriously and energetically, towards the utilisation of the opportunity to the largest possible extent, not only by the Government, but by the people as well. In all these directions, he rightly observes, much depends on self-help and individual efforts. At the same time he cannot ignore the fact that in a conservative country like India, where private enterprise is not yet adapted to the new conditions of life, State help is also urgently needed, especially in the initial stage. "Our Imperial Government should know," he writes, "that the Free Trade policy may be beneficial to an advanced country like Great Britain, but our industries, which are still in the nursing stage, require some mild form of Protectionist system or the other If our Govern ment cannot adopt a strict Protectionist policy, it must still welcome Fair Trade policy." This is what we also have said more than once, and we are glad public opinion is becoming more and more pronounced as time advances on the urgent need of protection for Indian industries in their present moribund condition. The Free Trade policy for India at the present stage of her industrial and commercial evolution, with the advanced countries of Europe as competitors, is as unfair as pitching an infant against full-grown athletes. If not Protection, at least Fair Trade, but certainly not Free Trade. State help is more urgently needed in this direction than even in that of funds, which are as difficult to be had at proper moments.—The *Bulletin.*

INDIAN ORATORS AND PUBLIC SPEAKERS.

By Mr. W. S. Naidu.

Rao Bahadur Madho Rao Kibe Sahib's article on the above subject finds a prominent place in the January number of the *Hindustan Review.* The writer aims at a critical survey of some of the leading orators and speakers of this country. It was a very laudable thought of Mr. Madho Rao to have taken to writing a comprehensive article inspired by the Reid Lecture of Earl Curzon on parliamentary eloquence. It shows his intense patriotism. We find wit and poetry in his learned article. Each paragraph devoted to the various speakers is a flowing period in itself and depicts them as they are. The article shows a close study and keen observation of the writer. As one reads it what striking sentiments dance before the imagination! The writer hits the right nail on the head when he remarks that the expansion of the Legislative Council and the different sessions of India National Congress have brought out some of the able debaters to prominence. It has in a large measure given a new turn to political agitation in this country. The various stages of oratory in England are described by him. In so doing he touches upon the keystone to oratory which consists in not saying new things, but in saying them with certain force and vigour as to make a tangible impression on the audience. He pays a glowing tribute to Bengal the "Brain of India" as the home of eloquence in India. It is Bengal that has produced splendid orators whose eloquence has commanded the esteem and praise of people beyond India. In the field of religion we find two prominent orators Kesub Chandra Sen and Swami Vivekananda while in politics we find Lalmohan Ghose. Unfortunately all of them are no more but their speeches and eloquence stand as lasting monuments to their greatness. Their spirits are hovering over to inspire and guide us all. Mr. Madho Rao, not having had occasion to hear some of the prominent Madras orators has not much to say about them. The names of Rao Bahadur Kesava Pillai, Messrs. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer and S. Sreenivasa Iyengar, Sir Subbramanya Iyer and L.A. Govinda Raghova Iyer come prominently before our minds' eye as we bestow a thought upon orators of the Madras presidency.

THE HINDUSTAN REVIEW.

"Eight months of war" is the title of a graphic paper by Captain Watson Smyth, which secures first place in the March issue of the *Hindustan Review*. It is a summary of the operations on land and sea since last August. As regards the land campaign, the greatest space is naturally given to the operations on the Western front, commencing with the invasion of Belgium, which, first drew Britain decisively into the conflict, next dealing with the miscalculated dash on Paris in the opening days of September and the throwing back of the Germans on September 14th to the Aisne, from south of Ribecourt to Berry-au-Bac, a line which, approximately, they hold still. The enemy's operations against Russia, with the failure of the attempt on Warsaw are also dealt with. Finally, Captain Watson Smyth expresses the opinion that the Allies should be on German soil by the autumn but if progress is slower, and the economic pressure on Germany less severe than anticipated, the close of the campaign should be deferred till the autumn of 1916. This is two years, as against the period of three years which Lord Kitchener considered was the lowest margin of time for the final subjugation of the enemy. The *Hindustan Review*, in addition to Captain Watson Smyth's article "Eight months of War," contains several papers by known writers. Mr. K. Vyasa Rao, B.A., who writes on "The Making of Public Opinion in South India," referring to Mr. Subramanya Iyer's work in the field of Tamil and English Journalism, says that his life mission has been to fit his countrymen for the enjoyment of large privileges and to educate the Government into granting them. Other articles worth perusal are "The Pros and Cons of the Permanent Settlement" by Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, "History in its Relation to Sociology" by the Hon. Justice Mahomed Shah Din and "Economic Position of Germany" by Mr. Jasper Smith, who points out that the credit of the German banks was seriously injured by the withdrawal of French securities and that the total of Germany's present resources amounts to only £340,000,000. In the Literary Supplement "A Seeker after Truth" closes a series of articles on "Indian Thought in Shelley and Tennyson," in which he shows that there is much in common between Eastern and Western literature.—The *Indian Daily Telegraph*.

We are always glad when every fourth or fifth weekly mail brings our exchange copy of the *Hindustan Review*, for we get a hundred or more pages in convenient size of most readable, and sometime very interesting matter. Newspapers often convey the latter also, especially during this terrible war; but they are cumbrous to hold or read when compared with a good magazine, and perhaps we are getting too old to appreciate the growing American tendency of inflicting staring head-lines, and interspersing advertisement with news, which is now becoming so popular. We have now the March number of the Review before us. In reviewing the February number we commented on the absence of illustration. In the present issue we have a photograph of Mr. Subramanya Iyer, the gentlemen who started "The Hindu" newspaper, and who, we are told in an interesting account of his career, has been the creator of public opinion in South India. The leading article in the number before us entitled "Eight months of war" written by Captain Watson Smith gives a most informing account of the operations in the present struggle, and the causes which led up to it, showing how from the beginning Sir Edward Grey tried to isolate the Serbian problem, and suggested a meeting in London of the Ambassadors of Italy, France, Russia, and Germany, to discuss arrangements which might be agreeable to Austria and Serbia. All agreed except Germany. When the latter invaded Belgium and tried to upset what has always been a cardinal axiom of British policy since the 16th century, that is, to defend Belgium against the predominant Power in Europe we entered a war with clean hands, and one not of our own seeking. On our side it is not a war of aggression, but one of self-defence; waged, too, in the interests of small states and of international good faith, for the preservation of all Europe against the aggressive designs of a militant autocracy. Thoughtful people will agree with Captain Smith that we must not be either optimistic or pessimistic, but must set our teeth and make up our minds to continue to the end, cost us what it may.

There is an interesting address by the Hon. Justice Mahomed Shah Din, delivered before the Punjab Historical Society, on "History in its Relation to Sociology," and another on "The Failure of the Railway Board," showing the many grievances suffered by third class passengers who form in the East, as everywhere else, the most remunerative part of the traffic. We do not agree with some of the writer's conclusions, and many of the grievances have been removed in Burma; but still there is often overcrowding and harsh treatment of 3rd class passengers. He writes of the President defending "the barbarous practice" of carrying 3rd class passengers on holidays in cattle trucks, and asks if he would have "the courage and impudence" to defend it if the companies were to carry Europeans or Anglo-Indians in this way? The answer is that the latter are accustomed to seats, whilst Asiatics often feel more comfortable squatting or lying on a mat on the floor. The writer remembers, before the Mandalay line was open for traffic, making a very pleasant three days holiday trip to Pyinmana with a railway official in a clean third class carriage with an open van in front where we placed three long arm chairs and a table. In the mornings and evenings we sat outside, getting plenty of fresh air and some dust and blacks from the engine, and we usually ate our meals in the open air in the van. It was during the Easter holidays and we had fine weather, and we thoroughly enjoyed the *al fresco* life and the change of scene, as the material train moved along at about 12 miles an hour. This sort of trip would hardly be possible in

England, where often one cannot be sure of the weather for a couple of hours together. We think that third class passengers are now far better off in Burma than they are in India, as there have been very many improvements here of late years. They are still debarred from getting return tickets, and the carriages are often very perfunctorily cleaned inside, though a good deal of water is used in washing them outside.

Mr. Jasper Smith writes on "The Economic Position of Germany" showing her productions and how the British fleet has encircled and blockaded her, reducing her nearly to the position of a besieged fortress. There are many other articles which we have no space to notice in this issue. We think that every library, if not every reading individual, should subscribe for this interesting periodical. There are few indeed which give so constantly such interesting and informing reading, and such intelligent reviews of the latest European books in every number. We cordially recommend the *Hindustan Review* to the newly formed Burmese Societies, and to Burmese students generally.—The *Burma Critic*.

THE KAYASTHA WORLD.

MOTTO I—*I will be* as harsh as Truth and as uncompromising as Justice ; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—*and I will be heard*. (William Lloyd Garrison in the *Liberator*.)

MOTTO II—Minds may doubt and hearts may fail when called to face new modes of thought or points of view ; but the time must come when what is false in all things will fade and what is true will no more seem strange. (From Dr Illingworth's *Reason and Revelation.*)

The Kayastha Pathshala Deputation.

The Kayastha Pathshala deputation consisting of Dr. Ranjit Singh, the president, Principal Sanjivarao, and Munshi Iswar Saran, visited Ballia on Sunday, the 21st March. The deputation which reached Ballia on Saturday afternoon was received at the station by a band of young Kayasth student volunteers and by Messrs. Bhikhi Lal, Nawab Lal, Ganga Sahai, Maheshwari Prasad, Bindeshwari Prasad and Dr. Mathur. The latter gentleman drove the deputation very kindly to the house of Maharaja Kasim Bazar and acted as the host of the deputation, for the night. Sunday, the 21st March, was spent in visiting the local Kayastha gentlemen from house to house and a promise of subscriptions amounting to Rs. 4,512-4-0 was obtained during the course of the day and a sum of Rs. 435-4-0 was realised in cash. In the evening a public meeting was arranged in the house of Munshi Nawab Lal where there was a strong gathering of the Kayasthas. The meeting was addressed by Principal Sanjivarao and Munshi Iswar Saran and a good deal of enthusiasm prevailed. The deputation members were entertained at a very nice breakfast at the house of M. Bhikhi Lal and altogether all the Kayasthas of Ballia responded very well and have given staunch promise of carrying on the deputation work and expanding it into the mofussil. A strong local committee, consisting of M. Ganga Prasad, as president, M. Bhikhi Prasad, M. Nawab Lal and M. Harbans Sahai, as vice-presidents ; Babu Tulsi Dayal and Dr. Swami Dayal, as secretaries ; Babu Baijnath Sahai, Babu Maheshwari Dayal, Babu Harnandan Prasad, and Babu Dharamdeo Lal, as joint secretaries and 14 other members with powers to add to their number, has been formed and it is expected that this committee will continue the work of the deputation with the same enthusiasm which prevailed while the deputation was at Ballia.

Another deputation party consisting of M. Parmeshwar Dayal Sahib, member of the executive committee and Munshi Lakshmi Narain, trustee of the Kayastha Pathshala and son of late lamented Munshi Govind Prasad, the late illustrious president of the Pathshala, also visited Shahjahanpur on Sunday, the 21st March and were joined at this place by Munshi Baldeo Prasad, the veteran leader of the western Kayasthas in general. The deputation committee, however, regret that they did not meet with the same success at Shahjahanpur as had attended them everywhere else without a single exception. They only got a promise of Rs. 1,025-0-0 and only the small sum of Rs. 18 was realised as cash. The committee beg to appeal to the Kayasthas of Shahjahanpur coupling with the name of Munshi Bhairon Dayal and beg to point out the urgency of the situation and the gigantic nature of the task that they have before them in raising funds in order to get the temporary affiliation made into permanent by securing funds enough to build a new college, hostel and accommodations for the staff, which such a college will necessarily require.

On Saturday, the 27th March, another deputation consisting of Dr. Ranjit Singh, president, and Principal Sanjivarao, left Allahabad by the Punjab mail for Budaun and were joined at Bareilly again by that respected veteran Munshi Baldeo Prasad. The deputation arrived at Budaun late at twelve in the mid-night and were received at the railway station by a number of Kayasth gentlemen who in their enthusiasn had taken the trouble of keeping up till such a late hour and receiving them at the station. These were:—Babu Raj Kumar, vakil, Babu Mahabir Prasad, district engineer, Babu Ram Sarup, rais and zamindar, Babu Ragauraj Singh, rais and zamindar, Babu Panna Lal, rais, Babu Nand Lal, assistant master, Government high school and Dr. Ram Narain, private practitioner. Sunday, as usual, was spent in visiting the local Kayasth gentlemen and before sunset a sum amounting to Rs. 4,781-0-0 was promised and a sum of Rs. 131 was realised as hard cash. The deputation were helped materially by the following gentlemen who very kindly went round with the deputation and thus gave them a material assistance:—B. Raj Kumar Sahib, B. Jugul Kishore Sahib, Rai Madan Mohan Lal Sahib, B. Lalta Prasad Sahib, B. Kanhiya Lal, Munshi Krishn Murari Lal, M. Sheoshankar Lal, M. Amir Chand Johary, B. Raghuraj Singh, rais and zamindar, B. Ram Sarup, Babu Dwarka Prasad, Babu Lal Bahadur Sahib Johari, Dr. Ram Narain. A local committee has been formed at Budaun consisting of

Rai Madan Mohan Lal, as president; Babu Raj Kumar Sahib, as Vice-President; Munshi Amir Chand Johri, as secretary; Babu Ram Sarup, and M. Raghuraj Singh, as joint secretaries; and B. Uma Shankar Sahib, Babu Dwarka Prasad, rais, Babu Lal Bahadur, M. Kanhiya Lal, M. Krishn Murari, Babu Shiva Shankar, and Babu Raja Ujari Lal, as members. The members of the committee were the honoured guests of Rai Madan Mohan Lal who spared no pains to treating the members of the deputation right royally. Most of the above-mentioned gentlemen came to see the members off by the evening train. Budaun has certainly responded very well and it is expected that a very decent amount will be further obtained by approaching those members of the community who live in the district and in the town who were not visited by the committee owing to the press of time.—The *Leader*.

The Kayastha Pathshala.

On the 4th and 5th April last, there were many activities in the Kayastha Pathshala in connection with the annual meeting of the trustees of the institution. The cadet corps of the students newly formed under the energetic guidance of Principal Sanjiva Rao, Porfessor Tarachand, the headmaster and their colleagues was a great success and showed in itself the new spirit of service and co-operation which is growing in the college. The students had gone to the railway stations to receive the trustees both in the day and at night and were most eager to serve them and to make them comfortable to the best of their power. On the 4th April, the cadet corps was ready in the library of the college and exactly at 5 minutes to 12 noon they went in a body to the bungalow of the president, Dr. D. R. Ranjit Singh, and escorted him to the library where the members of the executive committee were waiting to receive him and to proceed with him to the hall where the meeting was to be held. A procession was then formed, in which the members of the cadet corps were in the front, and after that a few trustees and then the president and the other trustees completed the procession. It was an imposing spectacle and stirred the enthusiasm and the love of the students to the workers and the worthy president of the Pathshala as well as to the beloved institution of which they were all members. In the hall, the president and the trustees all took their seats, and the meeting was commenced by an opening speech from the chair. There was a great spirit of harmony and co-operation all through the meeting and the proceedings were marked by a desire on the part of the trustees to help and appreciate the work of those who are doing anything for the college. The graded scale of fee for which there was a great demand by the community and for which a special sub-committee was formed, was passed after some discussion. Resolution expressing the thanks of the trustees for the splendid examples of self-sacrifice and devotion shown by Principal Rao, his colleagues and the members of the committee in giving monthly donations to make up the loss caused by the cessation of interest on the money deposited in the Bank of Upper India, Limited and the thanks of the trustees for the great labour and interest with which M. Ram Sumeran Lal Sahib I. S. O., retired Deputy Collector, the hony. financial secretary of the institution prepared the Budget were unanimously passed and the meeting came to a close at 5 p. m. The trustees came out of the hall and a photograph of the trustees with the president and the cadet corps was taken at 5-30 p. m. Amongst the trustees from outside, were M. Chhail Beharilal, vakil Sitapore, R. B. M. Ravinandan Prasad Sahib, vakil, Benares, M. Ram Dayal Fuller, *rais*, Aligarh, M. Ram Ratan Lall Sahib, retired Deputy Collector, Gonda, M. Adit Prasad, vakil, M. Ram Ugrah Lal Srivastva, Lucknow, Munsif, Saidpur; R. B. M. Oudh Behari Lal, Deputy Collector, Cawnpore, and Mr. Sadiq of Bikapur. It is to be regretted that many more trustees could not come, as the affairs of the college require a greater time and attention at this stage and the president and his committee are doing their best to bring out the trustees.

The dinner at 8 p. m. the same evening was a splendid function indeed and the energetic joint secretary of the institution to whose organising capacity its success was chiefly due, must have felt himself amply rewarded in the thrill of joy and desire to serve the institution which was visible in all those who were present. There were about 400 gentlemen trustees and students sitting on the table and in front of them was the beautiful painting of the Kulbhashkar, founder of the institution, which was decorated by flowers and had lights all round it. Before the dinner began there was sung the beautiful song 'Jai Jai Kali Prashad Bharat Hitkari' and all stood listening to the song with attention and thinking with veneration and love of the sacrifice over which the institution is founded. The dinner, of course, as usual, was fully done justice to by all and then began the most interesting portion of the proceedings. The toast of his Majesty the King-Emperor was proposed by the president Dr. Ranjit Singh and was followed by the playing of the National Anthem by the Sangit Samiti M. Gulzarilal Sahib, the vice-president, proposed in a short and eloquent speech the toast of the patron Chawdhary Mahadeo Prasad.

078069

rais, Allahabad, and showed the large-heartedness and generosity of the patron very clearly. The honorary general secretary proposed the toast of 'The Kayastha Pathshala the object of our love' which was responded in an eloquent speech by Mr. Dutt, the headmaster. Mr. Rao proposed the toast of the volunteers and Dr. Ranjit Singh proposed the toast of visitors which was responded in very sympathetic and eloquent speeches by R. B. Ravinandan Prasad, vakil, Benares, and M. Adit Prasad, vakil, Lucknow. The dinner was attended by many local trustees as well as the trustees from outside such as M. Ravinandan Prasad, M. Chhail Biharilal, M Adit Prasad and others

On the 5th was the 'At Home' of the president. The college playground was very tastefully decorated for the occasion. From the gate to the playground, flags were arranged on both sides of the road and immediately beyond the culvert were standing the members of the cadet corps in a line for the reception of the guests. On the grounds arrangements had been made for tennis, badminton and ping-pong and amusements were provided in the shape of the Sanjit Party's music, the gymnastics of the college boys, the Indian jugglery, the play of the birds, etc. The guests were much amused with the Indian jugglery and the birds' play. Among the guests were noticed: Sir Henry Richards, Lady Richard, Misses Richards, Sir Pramoda Charan Banerjea, Mr. Richardson, Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Pratt, Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Free-Mantle, Collector, Mr. Crosthwaite, Chairman, Municipal Board, Mr. Gaskell, junior secretary, Board of Revenue, Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, Mr. Daniels, I. C. S., District Judge, Lala Wazir Sahai, Executive Engineer, Nawab Abdul Majid Chowdhery, Nathan Singh, Rai Ragho Prasad Narain Singh Bahadur, Lala Bisheshar Das, Rai Sanwal Das, M. Ram Ratanlal, Deputy Collector, R. B. M. Ravinandan Prasad, Benares, M. Raj Bahadur, vakil, Mirzapur, and M. Chhail Biharilal, vakil, Sitapur. His Honor Sir James Meston, and Lady Meston, Justice Chamier, Justice Piggott, Sir George Knox, Mr. de la Fosse, Director of Public Instruction, Mr. Tweedie, Mr. Holms, Mr. Burn and all the others invited had written expressing their regret at not being able to join owing to their absence from Allahabad. It is a source of great satisfaction to the committee of the institution, that all the gentlemen responded to the invitation so gladly and visited the institution. The institution is doing its best to serve the public in its own humble way and it is to be hoped that the public and the gentry will all sympathise and send their good wishes for the institution. Altogether the functions this year were very interesting and successful, and it is hoped that next year the trustees and the public will make it a point to come and will see for themselves all that is being done in the institution.

11th April 1915. }

HARNANDAN PRASAD,
Hony. Secretary.

Acknowledgment.

We beg to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following British, American, Anglo-Indian, and Indian publications in exchange for the Hindustan Review :—

Quarterlies (Foreign) :

1. The Quarterly Review.
2. The Socialist Review.
3. The Hibbert Journal.
4. The University Magazine.
5. The East and the West.
6. The Buddhist Review.
7. The Monist and the Open Court.
8. The Church Quarterly Review.
9. The London Quarterly Review.
10. The Moslem World.
11. The Sociological Review.
12. The Irish Church Quarterly Review.
13. The Dublin Review.
14. The Political Science Quarterly.
15. The Round Table.
16. The Yale Review.
17. The International Review of Missions.
18. The Studies.
19. The Society of Comparative Legislation.
20. Princeton Theological Review.

(Indian)

21. The Calcutta Review.
22. The Indian Interpreter.
23. The Agricultural Journal of India.
24. The Journal of South Indian Institute.
25. The Students Brotherhood Quarterly.
26. The Indian Research.

By-Monthly (Foreign) :

27. Luzac's Oriental Lists and Book Review.

Monthlies (Foreign) :—

28. The Contemporary Review.
29. The National Review.
30. The English Review.
31. The Review of Reviews.
32. The North American Review.
33. The Literary Guide.
34. The Indian Magazine.
35. The Positivist Review.
36. The Irish Review.
37. The African Times Magazine.
38. The Theosophist Path.
39. The American Review of Reviews.
40. The United Empire.
41. The Current Opinion.
42. The Forum.
43. The Rajput Herald.
44. The International.
45. The Asiatic Review.
46. The Empire Magazine.
47. The New Statesman.
48. The Japanese Magazine.

(Indian)

49. The Modern Review.
50. East and West.
51. The Indian Review.
52. The Indian Ladies Magazine.
53. The Dawn.
54. The International Police Service Magazine.
55. The Vedic Magazine.
56. The Criminal Law Journal of India.
57. The Theosophist.
58. The Modern World.
59. The Hindu Review.
60. The Burma Economist.
61. The Youngmen of India
62. Wealth of India.

Fortnightlies (Foreign):

63. The Dial.

(Indian)

64. The Calcutta Law Journal.
65. The Bombay Law Reporter.
66. The Empress.
67. Society Illustrated.

Weeklies (Foreign) :—

68. The Saturday Review.
69. The Nation.
70. The Outlook.
71. The Times (with Literary Supplement.)
72. The Outlook (New York.)
73. T. P's Weekly.
74. India.
75. The Literary Digest.
76. Indian Opinion.
77. Public Opinion.
78. The Living Age.
79. The Nation (New York)
80. The Independent.
82. The Near East.
81. The World Wide.
83. The Academy and Literature.
84. The New Witness.

(Indian)

85. Capital.
86. The Allahabad Law Journal.
87. The Calcutta Weekly Notes.
88. The Madras Law Times.
89. The Madras Law Journal.
90. The Indian Social Reformer.
91. The Hindi Punch.
92. The Mussalman.
93. The Wednesday Review.
94. The Mahratta.
95. The Madras Weekly Notes.
96. The Comrade.
97. The Hindu Patriot.
98. The Indian World.
99. The Express.
100. The Bihar Standard.
101. The Commonweal.

Tri-Weekly :—

102. The Panjabee.

Semi-Weekly :—

103. Advocate.
104. The Burmah Critic and Review.

Dailies (Indian) :—

105. The Englishman.
106. The Statesman.
107. The Indian Daily News.
108. The Empire.
109. The Bengalee.
110. The Amrita Bazar Patrika.
111. The Indian Mirror.
112. The Times of India.
113. The Bombay Gazette.
114. The Parsi.
115. The Civil and Military Gazette.
116. The Tribune.
117. The Indian Daily Telegraph.
118. The Morning Post of India.
119. The Madras Mail.
120. The Hindu.
121. The Madras Standard.
122. The Indian Patriot.
123. The Madras Times.
124. The Sind Gazette.
125. The Pioneer.
126. The Leader.
127. The Herald.
128. The Beharee.
129. The Bombay Chronicle

Compiled
1999-2000